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Nuclear Times

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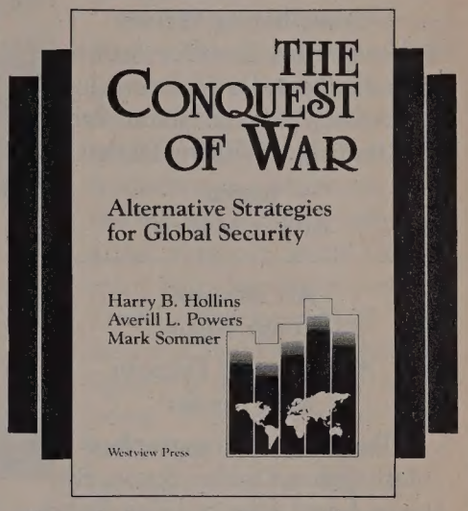
Westview

The Conquest of War

Alternative Strategies for Global Security

Harry B. Hollins
Averill L. Powers
and Mark Sommer



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—**William Sloane Coffin,** SANE/FREEZE

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LETTERS

Peace & Freedom

We all view *Nuclear Times* as the glue of the peace movement, and therefore would like to clarify certain mistaken impressions in George Perkovich's article, "Peace and Freedom" [Nov./Dec. 1988].

Was the meeting between peace representatives and General Secretary Gorbachev a love-in, as Perkovich suggests? Hardly. Yes, we at SANE/FREEZE have an admiration for Gorbachev's efforts to dispel the legacy of Stalin and bring more openness to Soviet society. But we did not shrink from challenging the Soviet leader. For example, SANE/FREEZE President William Sloane Coffin questioned Gorbachev on his proposal for a U.S.-Soviet joint venture in space. "It is an exciting idea," said Coffin, "but what is more important? To put an American and Soviet on Mars, or to put millions of people on their feet here on this planet?"

Another member of the SANE/FREEZE delegation asked the Soviet leader if he is serious about halting military intervention in the affairs of other countries. In response, Gorbachev agreed that military intervention is wrong and said he is working on non-intervention as a national goal.

According to Perkovich, SANE/FREEZE was wrong to explore the establishment of a commission on peace and human rights. But is it wrong to discuss the right to economic development, the right to a clean environment, the right to peace? Is it wrong, at a time when the Soviet Union is struggling for greater freedom, to discuss the essential link between democracy and peace? Is it wrong, at a time when Americans are suffering distorted priorities that feed the Pentagon and starve human needs (rights), to broaden the definition and understanding of human rights?

The point of our proposed commission was not to endorse any particular viewpoint, but to discuss all aspects of the human rights question and broaden public awareness of the link between peace and freedom. What a pity then that Perkovich chose to attack this effort by resorting to outdated Cold War stereotypes.

Perkovich particularly objects to dealings with the Soviet Peace Committee (SPC). We do not intend to defend or justify the SPC. But neither will we accept red-baiting tactics that cut off dialogue with Soviet agencies just because they are officially approved. We seek and have engaged in dialogue with all parties in the Soviet Union, official and unofficial.

The SPC has changed considerably over the years. To many of us, it is a vehicle through which to gain entry to the country and meet people. Once there, we are free to say what we want and meet whomever we wish. There are now approximately 30,000 registered informal organizations in the Soviet Union, akin to our non-profits or NGOs. The SPC does not in any way dictate our politics, nor does our willingness to meet with the SPC imply an endorsement on our part of its views.

At the December 8, 1988 board meeting of SANE/FREEZE, it was agreed not to go forward with the proposed commission for lack of resources, including staff, funds and energy. We are still concerned, however, that a reduction in arms lead to an increase in democracy and the right to development and to peace.

President William Sloane Coffin
Co-chair Elizabeth Campbell-Elliott
David Cortright, Rev. Timothy Kehl
Deanna McCook, Brigid Shea
Jessica Tidman, Randy Wilson Coffin
Timothy Wapato, Cora Weiss

Your article "Peace and Freedom," a deplorable attack on the SANE/FREEZE-Soviet Peace Committee joint working commission, is representative of a type of anti-Sovieteering that should be rejected by the U.S. peace movement.

To suggest that Ronald Reagan has "legitimated arms control" is as ludicrous as calling him pro-labor because of his support for Poland's Solidarity movement. Your sort of love-at-first-sight reflexive attraction to Soviet "dissident activists" is as naive as asking us to limit ourselves to only those actions that can be approved of by *The Washington Post*.

Nuclear Times and its executive director goofed, and you ought to 'fess up and apologize.

Jerome S. Rauch, Board Member
Baltimore SANE/FREEZE
Baltimore, Maryland

George Perkovich's article, "Peace and Freedom," only begins to confront the major shortcomings of the U.S. peace movement, namely its failure to develop a coherent position *vis a vis* the Soviet government. The compact between SANE/FREEZE and the Soviet Peace Committee creating a standing, permanent joint commission on peace and human rights is an

(Continued on page 26)

DISPATCHES

NO I.O.U. FOR I.R.S.

SOME AMERICANS ARE MAD AS hell and they aren't gonna pay it anymore. They're known as war-tax resisters, and every year they withhold part or all of their balance due the Internal Revenue Service to protest what they believe is an unacceptable percentage of their tax dollars spent on the military.

"It's a way of answering the question, 'Where does my conscience come into contact with governmental policy?'" says Carolyn Stevens, program coordinator for the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee (NWTRCC), a coalition of about 100 war-tax resistance groups across the country.

Just how much is Uncle Sam spending on guns instead of butter? It depends on who you ask. According to the government, the military accounts for not much more than 27 percent of the fiscal budget. However, groups such as the National Jobs With Peace Campaign and Military Spending Research Services maintain that certain "hidden costs"—veterans' benefits, the military share of interest on the national debt, foreign military aid and defense-related projects of NASA—push the figure to just over 50 percent.

War-tax resistance is a long-time American tradition. Toward the end of the colonial period, Quakers in the Pennsylvania legislature resigned *en masse* rather than vote taxes to help the British wage war against the Indians. Almost a century later, in 1846, Henry David Thoreau went to jail rather than pay the poll tax that helped finance the U.S. war with Mexico. And two decades after Thoreau's civil disobedience, war-tax resisters refused to underwrite the Civil War.

Of course, most of the early resistance was religiously motivated, with Mennonites, Brethren and Quakers being the majority of withholders. But since World War II the movement has broadened. "I'd say it's only 50 percent religious now," says Stevens. She estimates that from 10,000 to 20,000 people have been resisting on April 15 since the early 1980s.

Income taxes, though, are not the only thing war-resisters are withholding. A far greater number are refusing to pay their monthly telephone bill's federal excise tax, which is used exclusively to fund military projects. Stevens puts the number of phone-tax withholders at 100,000, and they have caused enough havoc for at least one phone company to give up on trying to force payment. Says Web Chamberlain, a spokesman for C&P Telephone in Washington, D.C., "When the customer tells us he's not paying the federal excise tax because it's a war tax, we just tell the customer we'll be notifying the IRS and then step out of the picture."

What the IRS does with the information is anybody's guess. According to IRS spokesman Frank Keith, the IRS does not keep statistics on how many people are withholding payments out of war-tax resistance, so it is hard to get an official reading of just how serious a problem the IRS thinks it is. But in the past the service has garnished wages and seized property from war-tax resisters (mostly those withholding on their 1040 forms, not phone tax), indicating that even in the grand scheme of megabuck tax fraud, the IRS does not take tax resistance lightly.

Nevertheless, since the end of World War II only 17 people have ever served jail terms for war-tax resistance—the average time served was only three or four months; only in one case did a resister serve a full year. At present, there is a chance that two resisters in Georgia will face jail sentences, but historically imprisonment has been the exception rather than the rule. Says Stevens, "The IRS just doesn't want a lot of publicity that [war-tax resistance] is going on."

Enactment of a proposed Peace Tax Fund Bill would solve most, if not all, the problems engendered by war-tax resistance. However, since its introduction in Congress in 1972, the bill has garnered only marginal support even though some fairly big names—such as Lowell Weicker, Mark Hatfield and Paul Simon—have endorsed it at one time or another. The bill would allow citizens to redirect their taxes normally used for military expenses to peaceful programs. There are now peace organizations that help resisters do just that with the money they withhold, but in the absence of a peace-tax fund law such redirection remains illegal.

"There's a lot of misperception about the bill," says Steve Tracy, outreach coordinator for the national campaign to make the bill a law. "People think you're trying to stick it to the military or dodge taxes."

According to Stevens, there's a lot of misperception about war-tax resistance in general. "We're not keeping the money to buy sports cars. We're not even telling people this is what they should do. We *are* counseling people that they can make a difference. War-tax resistance is not just symbolic—withholding taxes is a very tangible statement."

Just ask the IRS.

—William Triplett

For information, contact: NWTRCC, P.O. Box 85810, Seattle, WA 98145, (206) 522-4377; or National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund, 2121 Decatur Pl. NW, Washington, DC 20016, (202) 483-3751.

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BLIPS . . .

A SEQUEL IN NEVADA The **U.S. Coalition of the International Comprehensive Test Ban Campaign** and **American Peace Test** are organizing "Reclaim the Test Site II," 10 days of workshops and direct action April 7-16. A rally is planned for April 15. The coalition encourages activists who are unable to attend to hold local events. For information, call (202) 745-2450.

BUILD HOMES NOT BOMBS During the week before April 15 **Jobs With Peace** will be organizing protests across the country to demand that the federal government stop building bombs and start supporting housing. "Tax day is when millions of Americans pay the Pentagon 52 cents from each of their income tax dollars," says **Michael Brown** of Jobs With Peace. "Only 2 cents of that dollar goes to affordable housing. The result: Up to three million are homeless, many more pay half their income in rent, and many others will never be able to own a home." For information, call (617) 338-5783.

ONE IF BY LAND . . . Late last year Europeaceniks from 10 NATO nations invaded Amherst for a meeting of the **International Peace Communication and Coordination Center** (IPCC). Based in the Netherlands, the IPCC is a networking group for West European peace movements with affiliates in the United States. The December 2-4 meeting, organized by the **American Friends Service Committee**, was the first ever held here, and was attended by a number of well-known European activists, including **Wim Bartels**, international secretary of the **Dutch Interchurch Peace Council**, and **Mary Kaldor** of **European Nuclear Disarmament**. The conferees agreed to work together on a wide range of goals, such as blocking the modernization of NATO's nuclear forces, educating citizens on the links between militarization and environmental deterioration, and promoting the citizen-to-citizen "detente from below" process.

NEW EXEC AT SANE/FREEZE SANE/FREEZE has a new executive director and a not-so-new new name. **George "Nick" Carter Jr.** was named to the top spot at the group's second national congress last December. Carter was the senior minister of the First Baptist Church of Beverly, Massachusetts, and served as national co-chair of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and the co-chair of the SANE-FREEZE Merger Commission.

The organization's new name? SANE/FREEZE: A Campaign for Global Security. Kind of rolls off your tongue, doesn't it?

REACHING OUT Now there's a new way to make long distance calls and support good causes. **Working Assets**, a progressive investment fund, has started **Donor Dialing**, a "donation-linked" long distance service. There's no monthly fee, 30 free minutes for signing up, and 1 percent of your monthly charges will go to non-profit environmental, peace and consumer groups. Working Assets has worked out this offer with **US Sprint. Nuclear Free America** gave US Sprint its seal of approval last July when **GTE**, one of the top 50 defense contractors, sold its 50 percent share in US Sprint. For more information, call Working Assets at (800) 522-7759. US Sprint is at (800) 877-4000. The only other military-free long distance service is **Allnet**, which can be reached at (800) 631-4835. □

PROTEST IN INDIA

A THREE-YEAR CONFLICT between villagers and the government of India threatens to block the opening of a 'national testing range," which critics charge would be used to develop delivery systems for India's nuclear weapons program.

In the villages of Baliapal and Bhograi—known as the breadbasket of the state of Orissa, on the Bay of Bengal—some 100,000 people are facing eviction from their homes and lands to make way for the range, designed to test and launch satellites, rockets and missiles. In response, residents have organized a nonviolent resistance movement made up of peasants, fisherfolk and sharecroppers, and supported by unions, students groups and opposition political parties.

Under a *janata* (people's) curfew set up by villagers, government representatives are banned from the area. Last February, 24 magistrates accompanied by 3,000 armed police were prevented from entering by a human wall of some 20,000 people. On call is a *maran sena* (suicide squad) of 5,000, who have pledged to give their lives to keep government vehicles out.

Villagers have succeeded in virtually sealing off Baliapal-Bhograi for the past three years. They have refused to pay taxes and defied government authority by holding "people's courts" to settle local disputes. The government has responded by imposing an unofficial economic blockade, cutting off supplies of basic commodities such as sugar and kerosene, and detaining bullock carts and other vehicles carrying coconuts and cashews to market.

While villagers' opposition arose primarily from fears of displacement, other critics have tied the proposed range to the country's nuclear program. India, which first exploded a nuclear device in 1974, has refused to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and has been piling up plutonium reserves by enriching spent uranium from its nuclear reactors. Until now, it has lacked a delivery system for nuclear warheads. But apprehensions have been heightened by revelations that the defense ministry is involved in a missile manufacturing project in collaboration with the Soviet Union.

The proposed test range has added to this speculation. According to V.S. Arunachalam, a defense ministry adviser, the range would serve as a base for flight testing of rockets, pilotless aircraft and ballistic missiles, including long-range missiles. Officials have also acknowledged it would be used to test India's polar satellite launch vehicle, a delivery device defense analysts say could be modified and developed into an intermediate-range ballistic missile.

By last May, 8,000 armed police had been deployed to quell the anti-range movement. Bhograi activists say they have been arrested without warrants, beaten and held in custody without being brought before a magistrate within the 24 hours required by Indian law.

Despite its declared intent to open the range, the government has yet to take action to forcibly remove Baliapal-Bhograi's residents. "We are ready to give our lives in front of armored vehicles," said Sasadhar Pradhan, a movement spokesman. "But if that kind of incident occurs, the protest will not be limited to India alone. The whole world will condemn the Indian government, saying [they] have built the missile range on the corpses of innocent Orissa peasants."

—*Paul Routledge*

Letters of protest should be sent to: H.E. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, 7 Race Course Road New Delhi 110011 India.

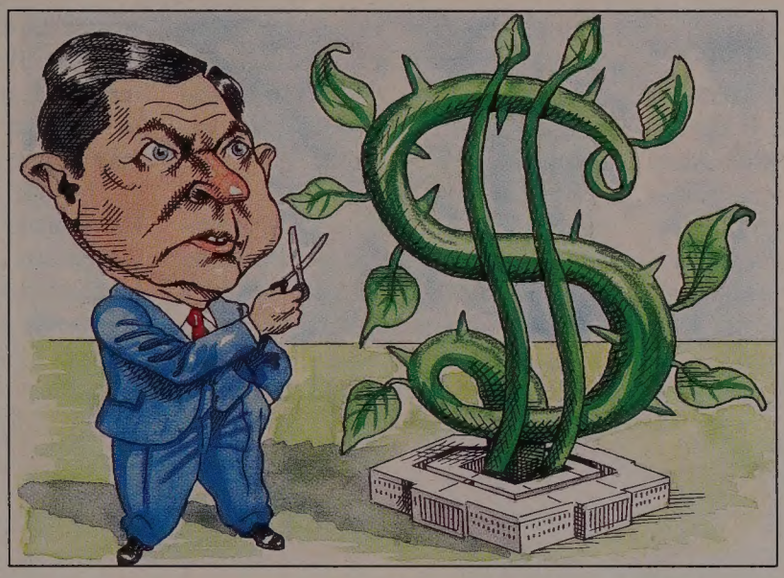
FOUR KEY BUSHMEN

AS PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH'S administration takes shape, observers will watch four key Cabinet officials for signals of policy priorities and positions on nuclear weapons issues. How much continuity will Bush allow in U.S.-Soviet arms control negotiations such as START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks)? Will these officials make tough choices among planned nuclear weapons systems, and can those choices be sold to Congress? Will Bush and his team be able to re-establish a bipartisan consensus with Congress on foreign policy and arms control?

Secretary of State James A. Baker III is the man to watch. Baker was President Reagan's chief of staff and then treasury secretary before leaving to run George Bush's successful 1988 campaign. Bush wasted no time appointing his campaign chairman and close friend to the top Cabinet position, where he'll have as much direct access to the president as he wants.

Baker is an experienced and pragmatic policymaker who has a record of successes with Congress, most notably the major tax reform package of 1987. He can help set the tone of the administration early—if he names a START negotiator to replace Max Kampelman and agrees to a spring date for resumption of nuclear talks, the signal to Capitol Hill will be "continuity." But he will need all his skills with Senate hawks if Bush tries to reach a START agreement.

On the other hand, Baker may choose to de-emphasize nuclear arms control at State. Outgoing Secretary of State George Shultz came to office saying he would focus on international trade and economic issues and avoid getting caught up in Middle East politics. But he ended up spending most of his time preparing for summits with Gorbachev and shuttling between Arabs and Israelis, while Baker at Treasury became the key player on trade. If Baker moves conventional and chemical weapons talks to the front burner, there will be little prospect of any Senate arms treaty ratification battle for several years.



National-security adviser Brent Scowcroft will be the man in the middle. Returning to the job he held under President Ford from 1975 to 1977, the retired Air Force general will try to forge internal consensus on some tough choices, such as land-based missile modernization. Scowcroft chaired the 1983 presidential commission that put Midgetman, a single-warhead mobile missile, on the drawing board. But under Reagan, the Air Force has tried to kill Midgetman in favor of deploying the 10-warhead MX on railroad cars. Congress is waiting for Bush to make up his mind, with a big fight brewing either way.

Scowcroft also has the task of reconfiguring U.S. negotiating positions and reconciling them with weapons development plans. He has questioned the wisdom of deep reductions in warheads through START, saying this would heighten U.S. missile vulnerability. And he has suggested that deploying sea-launched cruise missiles might hurt negotiations because they are difficult to verify. Scowcroft denounced the Reagan administration's unilateral reinterpretation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty to permit Star Wars testing, and testified against early deployment of the Strategic Defense Initiative.

Congress expects a March 15 report from Bush on SDI. Scowcroft might want to reduce the once-grand plans for the program and de-emphasize early deployment of anti-missile systems. For his part, Bush may call for big outlays for SDI to please conservatives, but knowing that Congress will probably cut his requests to keep annual SDI spending at or below $4 billion.

Although most of Scowcroft's views differ significantly from positions Bush supported as vice president, he could become the dominant force on arms control issues, in part because he has more experience than Baker and strong alliances with key Democrats.

Secretary of Defense John Tower starts his job somewhat weakened by public speculation about his personal habits and business dealings—an FBI background check delayed his appointment for several weeks. The former Texas senator chaired the Senate Armed Services Committee from 1980 until his retirement in 1984, and was a strong supporter of Reagan's military buildup. Now the tables are turned, and Tower may face tough scrutiny from some of the same senators he brushed aside as a strong-willed chairman. Congress is hoping he will help keep a lid on military spending, instead of fighting every step of the way like his predecessor Caspar Weinberger.

Tower's main challenge is to streamline the nation's largest bureaucracy and change the way it does business, something no defense secretary has been able to achieve since Robert McNamara in the 1960s. Tower's detractors say he will never take on the service branches or the military-industrial complex, noting that his lucrative consulting business attracted many of the largest military contractors as clients.

Secretary of Energy James A. Watkins may have one of the least desired jobs in Washington. The retired Navy admiral has taken tough assignments before, most recently chairing President Reagan's AIDS commission, but he now faces a daunting array of expensive problems in a time of tight money. Decades of neglect and mismanagement have left the complex of Department of Energy nuclear bomb factories broken down and littered with nuclear and toxic waste. Major production facilities in Washington, Ohio, South Carolina and Colorado have been closed because they are too dangerous to operate, but the toxic and radioactive wastes stored there still may be threatening citizens and the environment.

Watkins will face a growing clamor for cleanup, which the DOE says could take $200 billion and 60 years. At the same time, the Pentagon is demanding that already-closed facilities be patched together and reopened while new, expensive, replacement factories are built—$81 billion is DOE's estimate for fix-up and new construction. Bush has yet to propose a source of funding for either task. —*David Lewis*

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FEAR OF FRYING

Nuclear war is not safe for infantrymen and other living things.

BY GEOFFREY ARONSON

THE ARMY GRUNT IS THE ATOM OF the military universe. He is the assumption upon which the Army builds its most elaborate strategies—the workhorse, the bulldog, the obedient brawn. His heroism is extolled in a thousand songs, novels, comic books and movies. He is John Wayne, GI Joe, Elias of *Platoon*. The whole military way of life revolves around the core values he learns from his first days in boot camp: sacrifice, team spirit, valor, honor, and stamina against the odds. No excuses, sir.

But the next war the U.S. Army fights will in all likelihood be a conflict in which these values are irrelevant. In the nuclear age, machine guns and grenades have been replaced by nuke-tipped artillery shells, nuclear land mines, and backpack atomic bombs. As the Army commanders plot the course of this future nuclear conflict, they've begun to consider a sticky point: GI Joe may be scared out of his wits.

The celebrated INF Treaty signed by Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev a year ago eliminates all medium-range nuclear weapons. But it leaves the realities of the tactical nuclear battlefield unchanged, since it does not touch the many hundreds

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of modern battlefield nuclear weapons—so-called "tactical" nukes—with ranges of less than the treaty threshold of 300 miles. According to Gen. Edward C. Meyer, Army chief of staff from 1979 to 1983, the Army has not revised its plans for the use of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe in the wake of the treaty.

The Army also hasn't revised its long-held view that, as far as the grunt is concerned, ignorance about the realities of nuclear battle is bliss.

"If the Army spent a total of three hours on nuclear battlefield conditions, I'd be amazed," says a congressional staffer in his mid-twenties who recently completed the U.S. Army's six-month course in basic and advanced infantry training (AIT) at Fort Benning, Georgia. "They don't teach shit about nuclear war."

One researcher noted a positive benefit of radiation: irradiated soldiers might be easier to order around.

During the staffer's AIT training, an incendiary was set off indoors to simulate a nuclear explosion. Recruits were told, "Turn your ass to the blast." To demonstrate, the congressional staffer falls to the carpeted floor in his Capitol Hill office, tucking an imaginary rifle underneath his belly, putting his hands under his crotch, and spreading his feet out to each side. On the nuclear battlefield, he explains, troops are to maintain that position until told, "All debris has fallen."

"I would like to think these guys are trying to make an honest effort," the staffer says. "But generals don't realize how the [tactical nuclear war] doctrine equates at the ground level, where it's basically pointless.

"Our drill sergeant used to say, 'You may die but your rifle will go on.'"

"In my six years in the Army there never was a pitch for nuclear anything," says John Woodmansee, a Washington, D.C.-area military hardware salesman who until his recent discharge from the Army piloted a U.S. Army Cobra helicopter gunship on the far reaches of NATO's eastern border. "We thought that if there was a nuclear war, half of us wouldn't be alive and the other half really wouldn't care if they were alive or not. That was the attitude."

Woodmansee displays a pair of Army-issue underwear hanging limply in his closet. "This does the whole works, protection-wise," says Woodmansee, who seems convinced that this garment will help protect him from nuclear peril. "This suit will protect you from atomic flash. It will protect you from every agent known to man. It's incredible."

Yet despite his confidence in the underwear, Woodmansee is not quite sure whether the Army is prepared for the future nuclear battlefield conflicts it hopes to win. "I think that's why the Army doesn't talk about it too much."

THE LOWLY GRUNT HAS ALWAYS BORNE more than his share of terror in battle. As long ago as the siege of Syracuse in 218 B.C., Greek defenders were described by the chronicler Plutarch as "stricken dumb with terror." Combat stress has become even more acute with breakthroughs in the destructive power of weapons—from the warrior's spear to the foot soldier's musket, and in the last 100 years, from the machine gun to the 155mm artillery shell.

More American soldiers have succumbed to mental illness brought on by fear than have been killed on the battlefields of the 20th century. In World War I, 160,000 U.S. soldiers were disabled by shell shock (116,000 died in combat). During World War II, battle-induced psychosis was common among American GIs. According to studies done after the war by S.L.A. Marshall, a renowned American military historian, in extreme cases as many as eight out of 10 experienced combat soldiers were too frightened to fire weapons during an attack or even to defend against an enemy assault.

Then came the nuclear age. When Army generals first began to envision scenarios for fighting a nuclear war, they could not ignore the large numbers of shell-shock casualties from World War I. Could soldiers actually fight alongside nuclear bombs? Assuming they could survive the initial blasts and fallout from nuclear weapons, could Army grunts familiar with the horrors of Hiroshima be expected to carry on as usual against a backdrop of radioactive craters and mushroom clouds? Army schools started demanding special training methods to forestall an "A-bomb panic" among American ground troops.

FROM 1953 TO 1957 THE ARMY CONducted a series of nuclear explosions at the Desert Rock test site in Nevada to confirm that soldiers could withstand the emotional stress of nuclear war. More than 200,000 troops took part in the project. The Army trucked its grunts out to the parched moonscape of Nevada and lectured them on nuclear radiation and blast effects. Just prior to a scheduled nuclear detonation, the soldiers would practice reassembling rifles, loading supplies, and negotiating a barbed wire obstacle course. Then they would be asked to perform these same tasks once again in areas deemed radiation-free soon after the blast. The exercises were designed so there wouldn't be any time differential between pre- and post-blast performances—"scientific proof" that soldiers could fight nuclear wars.

"It was a totally artificial situation," says Carl Bernard, a combat veteran of World War II, Korea, and Southeast Asia and witness to 11 nuclear shots as commander of Desert Rock's tent-pitching company. "It had absolutely no relation to what a soldier might do." Bernard, who now sells military equipment to NATO forces from a Northern Virginia townhouse near the Pentagon, adds, "There's no way any of us would have said soldiers can stand on [a nuclear] battlefield."

Eugene "Mike" Lynch, a recently retired Army brigadier general who lives in Washington, D.C., was sent to Desert Rock to debrief some of the Desert Rock participants for the Army. "Without exception," recalls Lynch, "all of the Desert Rock interviewees said that in a real nuclear war they would turn into an absolutely uncontrolled and panicking mob."

Lynch had come up through the Army ranks, winning a battlefield commission during World War II. In Korea he served on the staff of Gen. Matthew Ridgeway, where he witnessed the hysteria of American forces during the darkest days of the war. "You had to have lived through the Bulge, you had to have lived through the Chinese entry into Korea, to see what panic is like," he says. "Now that was conventional panic, and the threat was introduced at a relatively low level by comparison [to nuclear conflict] and at a slower rate. Instead of happening in two or three days [the stress of nuclear combat] will be compressed into two or three minutes."

But Lynch knew that the Pentagon officials who had authorized the Desert Rock experiments didn't want to hear this kind of news. The Army was paying for a nuclear success story. Careers and multi-billion-dollar budgets were riding on the Army's proposition that men could fight in a nuclear environment. So Lynch sent his superiors at Desert Rock a more encourag-

ing report. He told them that, based on his debriefings, soldiers could probably function adequately as long as individual bombs did not surpass 3 kilotons (roughly the power of 21 conventional artillery battalions).

Lynch later came to entertain serious doubts about his participation in the Desert Rock experiments. Today he decries the Army's tactical nuclear strategy and has concluded that nukes are simply not "military" weapons. He believes he sacrificed promotion and prestigious commands as a result of his opposition, however belated, to what he calls the Army's "hardware hedonism" and its neglect of the grunt.

The Pentagon got what it paid for at Desert Rock. In a 1958 report on the exercises, psychologists under Army contract stacked the experiments and ignored testimony in order to declare that there was "no evidence" that troops could not perform well on the nuclear battlefield.

Army experts persisted in believing that witnessing a test-site nuclear detonation was the soldier's best training for a future nuclear conflict. "The intangible, indefinable fear which today is prevalent among most of our men can at least be partially allayed by the witnessing of a nuclear shot," wrote Lt. Col. H.P. Rant in a 1960 article in *Military Medicine* chillingly titled "Mental Conditioning of the Soldier for Nuclear War." "The mere fact that one has seen and been present at a shot takes a certain amount of mystery and awe out of nuclear explosions."

THOUGH THE ARMY WAS TRAINING ITS soldiers for a nuclear war, it had in a sense been left out of the nuclear age. During the first decade after Hiroshima, nuclear weapons were under the domain of the Air Force's Strategic Air Command. Gen. Curtis LeMay's Air Force prepared to deploy nuclear bombers throughout the world. In the late 1950s Adm. Hyman Rickover oversaw the creation of the Navy's Polaris ballistic missile submarine, with its capacity to fire up to 16 nuclear-tipped missiles. With the advent of the Eisenhower administration's nuclear-based strategy of "massive retaliation," expounded by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in 1954, the Army grunt appeared threatened with extinction. Eisenhower's increasing strategic reliance on the Air Force and the bomb led to extensive cuts in the Army's ground forces.

And so the Army generals, in what had become the military equivalent of keeping up with the Joneses, began to champion the scenario of the tactical nuclear battlefield, a localized conflict that would be fought with a new class of souped-up conventional weapons including nuclear artillery, atomic demolition units (nuclear land mines), and short-range nuclear missiles fired from truck-like vehicles or aircraft. Smaller, lighter, and more easily deployed, these new weapons were less potent and couldn't travel as far as strategic missiles. At Desert Rock, the Army "proved" to itself, if not to the grunts on the line, that troops can fight alongside such weapons. By marrying the foot soldier to the tactical battlefield nuke, the Army finally guaranteed itself a central role in the atomic age. The marriage continues to this day.

Army psychologists attempting to simulate a nuclear war—tactical or otherwise—still have very little to go on, other than the Desert Rock experiments. But combing through the battles of modern history, they have found one compelling case study: the unprecedented psychological pressures brought to bear on Israeli troops during the October 1973 Egyptian assault on the Bar Lev Line in the Yom Kippur War. Experts believe this is the closest that conventional warfare has yet come to resembling tactical nuclear combat.

The Bar Lev Line was an Israeli fortified demarcation in the Sinai on the eastern banks of the Suez Canal. The Egyptian invasion of Sinai did not escalate; it was a blitzkrieg that started at full gallop. President Anwar Sadat's generals employed Soviet tactics aimed at sowing maximum shock and disorientation among their Israeli enemies. Firepower from artillery, tanks and mortars of a scale and intensity unrivaled in history was loosed on Israeli fortifications. In the first minute of the Egyptian offensive, shells fell along the front at a rate of 175 per second. For 53 minutes the barrage continued, pounding Israeli units into a state of severe depression and demoralization. In the end, the Israelis managed to drive back Sadat's forces and win the war, but in the process they suffered acute psychological disorders that Army shrinks have been studying ever since. Israel suffered 3,000 dead and 11,000 wounded in the 19-day conflict. Subsequent studies revealed that from 10 percent to 23 percent of those injured were "neuropsychiatric" casualties.

"The [Yom Kippur] war became a signal event because it happened quickly [and] at the highest level of lethality in modern times," explains Dr. David Marlowe, the chief of military psychiatry at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center. A future war carries the possibility of psychologically overwhelming the soldier very quickly unless we do everything we can to prevent it."

The stresses of a nuclear battlefield promise to be many times greater than Bar Lev. Here's the generally accepted scenario of how the conflict will unfold for the 217,696 U.S. Army troops stationed in Western Europe, the most likely site of a future tactical nuclear war:

Once the nuclear firebreak is breached, "theater" nuclear weapons like the Lance surface-to-surface missile, wielding the firepower of seven conventional artillery battalions, will be detonated along the front as well as deep in the rear. These "deep battle" nuclear hits will destroy command, communication and medical centers. Meanwhile, tactical nuclear weapons will annihilate armies and make large blocs of territory uninhabitable. Nuclear fires will rage across the battlefield, fanned by blast-induced winds as high as 160 mph.

Troops who survive the initial blasts will curse their bad fortune. Many will die within days from radiation exposure. Tens of thousands of others will suffer from burns, severe nausea, vomiting, and numerous other radiation-induced maladies before eventually dying themselves. The fighting will degenerate into a rat war, with small groups of mentally and physically exhausted survivors scavenging among radioactive ruins. Some will be buttoned up in ponderous chemical warfare suits that are effective for only a few hours. Soldiers will find themselves without functioning radios, looking out at a wasteland. Weeks may pass until their immune systems break down. During this period of slow death the Army has decreed that afflicted soldiers will be "returned to duty to die."

It's no wonder, then, that a poll conducted in the early 1980s by an Army research center in Heidelberg, West Germany, revealed that one soldier in five fully intends to desert with his family once the nuclear bombs start flying.

Dr. Reuven Gal, the director of the Israeli Institute for Military Studies and formerly the chief psychologist for the Israeli Defense Forces, has quantitatively estimated the level of incapacitating fear in a World War III scenario. Using studies from the Bar Lev Line conflict, Gal has projected that six out of every 10 casualties in a nuclear war will be victims of battle-induced psychosis.

This psychological collapse will have nothing to do with any lack of courage or bravery. "Warfare today is 10 to 14 times more stressful than World War II combat," explains Richard Gabriel, a political science professor at St. Anselm College and author of numerous books on the military, including *No More Heroes: Madness and Psychiatry in War.*

"If you crank it high enough, the [sol-

dier's] physiological mechanism simply overloads . . . . "Blood pressure, heart rate and respiration all increase," explains Gabriel. "As the brain continues to operate under stress, its chemical production cycles become depleted. Higher mental functions simply wear out. Men will become incapable of decision, thought or emotion—a basic state of catatonia.

"War," concludes Gabriel, "has reached the point where human beings can no longer remain sane enough to produce any military outcome except collective death and insanity."

"The best defense against a nuclear attack is to dig in. A proper foxhole will offer excellent protection."

UNTIL 1976, THE ARMY DIDN'T INCLUDE A word on the subject of nuclear war in its basic operations manual—the foot soldier's bible. And today's updated Army manual still sanitizes the horror of nuclear warfare. More space is devoted to Ulysses S. Grant's offensive at Vicksburg than to nuclear war. And those few pages present a fantasy picture of a nuclear battle zone where radios work, medical facilities function, and a soldier, if he digs his foxhole deep enough and covers himself with a poncho, will survive to fight on to victory. Radiation, megadeath, and the basic psychological features of the next European battlefield are all but ignored.

The Army prefers more upbeat, if ambiguous, advice. "Armored personnel carriers provide generally the same protection as that of a tank against nuclear blast," explains a manual for tank and mechanized infantry companies, "but to a lesser degree."

Take a look at the Army's manual on "Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Defense" (NBC), and you quickly begin to sense how simplistic is the Pentagon's conception of a nuclear battlefield. "The spoken word (vocal alarm signal) is the most effective means of informing troops of an NBC hazard or attack," the manual states. "The vocal alarm for the arrival of radioactive fallout in a unit area is the word 'FALLOUT.' The first person to detect the arrival of fallout . . . should immediately begin alerting unit personnel using the word 'FALLOUT.' All personnel hearing this warning should relay the warning, get under overhead cover, and stay there . . . . Other sound signals which may be used for warning of the imminent arrival of radiological hazards are a succession of short signals such as: 1) rapid and continuous beating on any metal object or any other object which produces a loud noise. 2) A succession of short blasts on a vehicle horn or other suitable device. 3) A broken warbling siren sound."

Here's the sum total of instructions the NBC manual gives soldiers in defensive actions during a nuclear attack: "The best defense against nuclear attack is to dig in. . . . A properly constructed foxhole offers excellent protection against both initial and residual radiation because dirt is a good shielding material. Individuals who are exposed when a detonation occurs should: 1) Immediately drop flat on the ground (face down) or to the bottom of a foxhole, facing away from the fireball. Any depression in the earth's surface, logs, and large rocks provide some protection if other cover is unavailable. 2) Close their eyes. 3) Protect exposed skin from heat by putting hands and arms near or under their bodies and keeping their helmets on, if possible. 4) Remain down until the blast wave has passed and debris has stopped falling. 5) Stay calm, check for injury, check weapons and equipment for damage, and prepare to continue the mission."

BUILDING ON THE CAN-DO EFFICIENCY conveyed in their manuals, Army officials lay out their strategies for nuclear success with complete confidence. In testimony before Congress in 1986, Lt. Gen. John Pickett, then director of the Pentagon's Defense Nuclear Agency (DNA), set out its war-fighting goals. U.S. forces, Pickett announced, "must be ready to fight after a [nuclear] attack; they must be able to receive and act on the directions of higher authority; and their weapons must be delivered accurately with high probability of target damage."

Gen. Edward C. Meyer, the former Army chief of staff who now is a military consultant to the defense industry, concurs with Pickett's testimony. Because no one really knows what a nuclear war will be like, Meyer says he believes it makes sense to assume that the conflict will be a survivable undertaking. "My guess," he explains from his apartment overlooking the Pentagon, "is that by the time we get into the issue of theater nuclear war, the combatants will be so inured to death and destruction, they will be ready to deal with th death and destruction that takes place o the modern battlefield."

Meyer says there is a traditional solutio to stress on the nuclear battlefield. "If w have trained very well in the fundamental of leadership and decentralized com mand," he says, "[and] if the resupply sys tem is adequate, then those isolated group are going to hold together as well as any body else is under those kinds of stress How well? Just as well as they would unde conventional stress. It will be no different. guarantee you. No different. They may b a little bit more scared, but they also realiz that if they pack and run they're going t get killed."

Meyer's views carry the blessing of Dr David Marlowe at Walter Reed Army Hos pital in Washington. "There is enough di saster research which says if people have very clear view of what they are supposed to do and are well trained, they will tend t maintain order in the face of unbelievabl chaos," says Marlowe, who notes that th policemen and firemen of Hiroshima con tinued to do their jobs after the bomb hit

During Meyer's term as chief of staff, th Army introduced the COHORT program a "buddy" system that would have ende the constant rotation of assignments tha has created an army of strangers. CO HORT's goal was to increase group cohe sion and thereby enhance the infantry man's ability to cope with the kinds o severe combat stress he will face on a mod ern battlefield. Though the COHORT sys tem was once touted as the grunt's bes hope for surviving the next war, the pro gram was all but phased out because o opposition among officers who feared tha a lifelong affiliation with one outfit woul inhibit their own prospects for advance ment.

The Army has explored other ways o countering skeptics who contend that foo soldiers couldn't fight a tactical nuclea conflict. The Pentagon's Defense Nuclea Agency has invested a significant amoun of time and money on quasi-scientific re search designed to "prove" that grunts wil remain sane.

Dr. Robert Young is one of the socia scientists involved in this research. A Penta gon psychiatrist with DNA for 21 years Young is charged with a nuclear war-fight ing mission that would delight Docto Strangelove. His task, as head of DNA' Human Response Program in the Radia tion Policy Division, is to discover how t keep irradiated troops fighting on the bat tlefields of World War III. Young's divisio concentrates on the psychological effect of warfare. He and his small staff examin

case studies of past nuclear experiences, such as Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Chernobyl. They also study what Young describes as "intense conventional combat situations" (like the Bar Lev battle) to determine "what common elements might be used to understand what might happen if we ever had nuclear combat."

"We're basically searching for ways to diagnose, treat and prevent human responses to things nuclear," Young says. "We don't do any experiments, because, of course, we *can't* really do experiments on these sorts of things."

Young's workspace at the Defense Nuclear Agency is surprisingly low-tech. Standard-issue desks and the pale green decor define the world of a bureaucrat. A few personal computers offer the only hints of the nuclear age. In a meeting in an adjoining room, there is talk of "vectors," "means" and "tables"—the antiseptic language of the military academy, not the blood and guts of the battlefield.

Young maintains a detached view of warfare. Reviewing the battles of World War II, he sees cause for hope, not despair. The horrors of the next nuclear conflict, he reasons, can't exceed those of Nagasaki. Casualty rates can't be more horrific than what were suffered in the Civil War or during the early days of American involvement in Korea. If men could fight under those conditions, if they could suffer the crushing fear of the World War I slaughter at the Somme—when more than 50,000 British troops were killed in four hours—Young believes that today's soldiers can be taught to stay sane on the nuclear battlefield. "The Army is confident, and we have to be, that training will enable troops to do what they are supposed to do" on the tactical nuclear battlefield, says Young. "There is no real indication that troops will panic *en masse*."

Trained soldiers have not yet confronted the specter of a real-life nuclear threat, but at least two recent civilian incidents fly in the face of Young's supposition. Following the April 1986 nuclear accident at the Chernobyl reactor in which 31 people died and 500 were hospitalized, terrified Ukrainians purchased gallons of iodine to paint their bodies—one of the first nuclear folk remedies. And last year in the Brazilian town of Goiania, when Cesium 137 was inadvertently released from an abandoned hospital irradiation machine, residents became pariahs, were chased off buses and out of stores, and were unable to find work or homes outside their environs.

Just one month before the Chernobyl accident, Young hosted a conference titled "The Psychological Effects of Tactical Nuclear Warfare." For three days, Pentagon researchers discussed how grunts could be kept sane on the nuclear battlefield. At the conference, military experts proposed the following solutions to help allay the soldier's natural fear of the atom bomb: The Army could produce videos showing troops from the 1950s marching jauntily near ground zero at a Nevada test site, require soldiers to memorize a three-paragraph statement on U.S. deterrence policy and recite it under stress, and create indoor simulations of nuclear devastation for the grunts to experience repeatedly. One researcher suggested that soldiers could best allay their fears in the moments prior to a nuclear attack by playing cards and singing songs. Based on a review of the Hiroshima aftermath and animal studies, one Army researcher even noted a positive benefit from radiation: irradiated soldiers might be easier to order around.

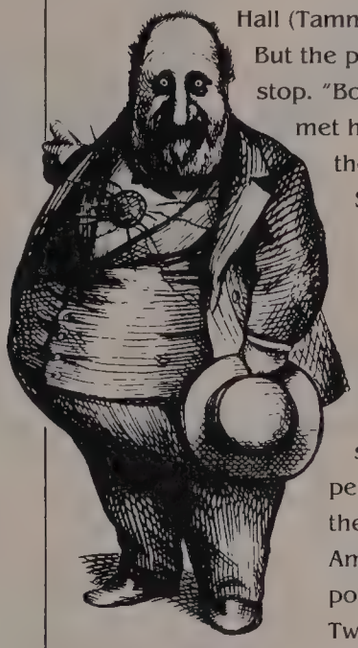
In the Pentagon's ongoing effort to "prove" that soldiers can withstand nuclear stress, DNA has awarded a $435,000 contract to Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC), a private Washington, D.C.-area think tank. Among other things, SAIC has promised to: identify the causes of emotional stress on the nuclear battlefield, relate stress casualty rates in nuclear combat to those on the conventional and chemical battlefields, predict nuclear warfare-induced psychological casualties, and then suggest ways to alleviate the problem.

Military expert Richard Gabriel claims that the Pentagon has embarked on a classified program, unacknowledged by Pentagon officials and unknown to researchers like Young, to develop a grand solution to the grunts' fear of frying: a chemical compound that will be used as a battlefield anxiety pill for soldiers. Gabriel says he first learned about the so-called "brave pill" project while working summers in Washington as a guest scholar with Walter Reed Hospital. He claims that by 1987 the Pentagon had tested at least three prototypes of the drug (derived, he believes, from the compound "busbirone"). "The problem is to find a chemical compound that will prevent or reduce anxiety while allowing the soldier to retain his normal levels of acute mental awareness," says Gabriel, who claims the Soviets are working on a project to develop a similar drug. "Armed with this new knowledge, the military research medical establishments of the world have set for themselves the task of abolishing fear in the soldier and making him a more efficient killing machine." □

Geoffrey Aronson is a Washington, D.C.-based investigative reporter.

"STOP THEM DAMN PICTURES"

That's what "Boss" Tweed demanded when he saw the handwriting on the Hall (Tammany, that is). But the pictures didn't stop. "Boss" Tweed met his maker in the Ludlow Street Jail and Thomas Nast put bitingly eloquent political cartoons squarely and permanently in the middle of American political life. Tweed aside, we think Emerson had it right when he said, ***"Caricatures are often the truest history of the times."***



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What Next?

The U.S. peace movement is at a crossroads. Gone are the heady days of the Freeze campaign, when millions joined its ranks. Today, in the wake of the INF Treaty, it has lost members and visibility.

But the peace movement has also matured—from a chorus screaming "no" at the Reagan administration to a diverse collection of organizations, each working largely behind the scenes and, to some extent, with its own audience and agenda.

Where the peace movement goes from here will be in large measure dictated by the political climate. Internationally, Mikhail Gorbachev set the stage in his speech before the United Nations last December, in which he promised unilateral cuts in Soviet military forces and urged international cooperation to settle regional conflicts, promote development and address global environmental problems. At home, the Bush administration has signaled it prefers to "go slow" in responding to Gorbachev. But the pressure—both economic and political—to end the Cold War has never been greater.

How will the peace movement respond to these challenges? We asked the leaders of a dozen organizations; their answers follow.

CLW

Time for deep cuts

Recent changes in the security policies and domestic economies of the United States and Soviet Union provide a historic opportunity for serious steps toward ending the arms race and the Cold War. Ronald Reagan's about-face on arms control and Mikhail Gorbachev's dramatic proposals have made deep cuts in nuclear weapons arsenals politically acceptable for the new administration.

The Council for a Livable World believes that the immediate goal of the Bush administration and arms control community in the next six months should be completion of a strategic arms reduction (START) treaty. Once that agreement has been ratified, the country has an opportunity—unprecedented since World War II—to adopt fundamentally different policies.

In the next four years, the Council intends to pursue treaties and policies that have as immediate goals:

- Deep cuts in nuclear arsenals, to the point where no country maintains more than a minimum deterrent force of 1,000 or fewer nuclear weapons;
- A nuclear force reconfigured to provide the least destabilizing posture possible;
- Narrowing the role of nuclear weapons to the deterrence of nuclear attack;

John Isaacs of CLW

- An end to underground testing of nuclear warheads;
- Preventing an arms race in space;
- An international effort to prevent the spread of nuclear and chemical weapons to other countries; and
- Restructured conventional forces so that both NATO and Warsaw Pact forces are in defensive positions only.

In the coming months, the Council will work with other organizations to build pressure on the Bush administration to move aggressively in the directions outlined above. Congress provided an important brake on the worst anti-arms-control tendencies of the Reagan administration. We will continue working with Congress, so that it supports the president's efforts to take advantage of opportunities or takes its own initiatives if he fails to act. Congress can, for example, refuse to allocate billions of dollars to build weapons we hope to dismantle very soon.

We also hope to build grassroots support for the nearer-term goals of a START treaty, early action on a chemical weapons ban, and sharp reductions of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces.

Finally, the Council will allocate increased resources and efforts to working with the media to get our message of change to the administration, Congress and the public.

Since 1776, the United States has succeeded in turning former adversaries—including Great Britain, Germany, Spain, Japan and China—into nations with whom we deal on a cooperative problem-solving basis. We must begin to develop a similar relationship with the Soviet Union. True security will come when nuclear weapons are as irrelevant to our relations with the Soviet Union as they are to our relations with Britain and Japan.

John Isaacs
Legislative Director

Council, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 543-4100.

Maureen Thornton of PSR

PSR

You can't eat bombs

The American public is prepared for a debate about national security—a debate prompted in large measure by the warming of U.S.-Soviet relations and the policies of Mikhail Gorbachev.

In 1989, Physicians for Social Responsibility will shift its resources toward a revitalized domestic speakers program to address the national security debate in terms of the real costs of the arms race. These costs are reflected in more than the dollar amounts spent on missiles, bombers, nuclear tests and Star Wars research. Physicians have seen the impact most acutely in the government's declining commitment to public health programs, including care for the very young and very old. These problems and others, such as rebuilding our industrial base, educating future generations, and reversing the damage we've done to the environment, have everything to do with national—and global—security.

What Gorbachev offers the United States and its allies is a chance to end the Cold War once and for all, and to begin cooperatively to bring economic and ecological balance to the world. PSR's ongoing series of exchanges between U.S. and Soviet physicians will foster such cooperation while continuing to break down the barriers between habitual adversaries.

The unfolding scandal at our nation's weapons manufacturing plants leads PSR to believe that unsafe nuclear weapons plants should be closed and stay closed; and that the Department of Energy (DOE) should release health, safety and environmental data that have been kept secret for decades to independent researchers who can assess the dangers to which employees and the public have been exposed. We have established a Physicians Task Force, composed of PSR activists and prominent doctors in the fields of public health and radiation, who will work with medical and environmental experts and with Congress to assemble and publish the facts about nuclear weapons production and its impact on public health.

Beyond the health and safety issues related to existing facilities, PSR is also concerned about plans to construct new DOE facilities for the production of tritium and plutonium at a time when the promise of negotiated nuclear weapons reductions reduces—and perhaps eliminates—the need for such inherently dangerous plants. We oppose such plans.

In 1989, PSR intends to strengthen its ties with other medical associations and encourage them to investigate the impact of the arms race and military spending on their ability to provide health services in their own specialties. Prevention of nuclear war—which remains the primary mission of PSR and a legitimate concern for everyone—can only be assured if we pay attention to the economic and political causes of the arms race, and to the national priorities that have too often been sacrificed in the name of security.

Maureen T. Thornton
Executive Director

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WAND

She who defines, wins

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament greets the new era announced by Mikhail Gorbachev's December U.N. speech and George Bush's election with a new twist to an old theme: "Redefining Inter/National Security." Recognizing that we are at the beginning of a long process, we nonetheless believe that we must begin now to create a new understanding of national priorities, emphasizing environmental, economic, human and military needs. As the old adage so aptly puts it: "(S)he who defines the question wins the argument."

WAND's programmatic goal is to create a "flexible response capability" for local activists, so that they can meet that challenge and participate fully in the process of redefining inter/national security.

We believe successful programming must engage the head, hands and heart. Thus, WAND will continue to emphasize strategies and materials that empower as they educate and mobilize. Our programs and projects for 1989 include:

- The WAND Game, a gaming simulation developed with Prof. Richard D. Duke of the University of Michigan's School of Architecture and Urban Studies. The game, now in prototype, employs concepts of common security and alterna-

M. Calien Lewis of WAND

PHOTO OF LEWIS BY © LILIAN KEMP 1988 PHOTO OF THORNTON BY © NEIL STEINBERG 1988

tive defense, and is designed to get players—especially women—to think about defense in ways that empower them to influence policy.

■ Political-skills building, designed to assist local activists in following the activities of elected representatives in Washington. We will provide information on the legislative process and training in communication skills so that participants can effectively lobby members of Congress and their staffs.

■ Electoral action, through WAND PAC, which will be maintained in this off-election year to enhance effectiveness in 1990. We will identify and assist candidates, particularly women, interested in redefining inter/national security and supporting an arms control and disarmament agenda. We will also continuing working with candidates, elected representatives and political parties toward developing a "peace platform" for 1992.

■ Mother's Day for Peace, a continuing effort by the WAND Education Fund to return Mother's Day to the originally envisioned occasion for speaking out for peace. Last year our TV satellite tour reached 13 million people in 40 four countries. The 1989 tour will be hosted by actress Susan Clark and supported by educational materials distributed by 45 groups. Our efforts this year will focus on achieving diversity of cultural and ethnic participation.

■ Network '89, an effort to forge coalitions and joint ventures with other peace groups, such as the recently formed coalition for a comprehensive test ban [see "Campaigning for CTB," Jan./Feb. 1989, p.10] and a joint project with Boston Women's Fund to put women from the peace community in dialogue with women working on inner-city projects.

M. Calien Lewis
Executive Director

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UCS

To finish START

Will 1989 be the year of deep cuts in nuclear arsenals and reduced, restructured conventional forces in Europe? The year we clean up bomb-factory waste and reorder our national-security priorities to acknowledge the importance of a healthy economy and environment?

Howard Ris of UCS

The Union of Concerned Scientists is engaged in a major legislative, media and grassroots campaign to insure that policymakers in the White House and Congress move to take advantage of opportunities that exist to achieve all of these goals.

The key to success in each area, we believe, lies in what UCS considers its top priority in 1989: the completion of a START treaty that cuts U.S. and Soviet long-range forces by up to 50 percent.

Why START? Because a successful START treaty will reaffirm and continue important precedents established by the Intermediate-range Forces (INF) Treaty: that *reductions* in weapons, rather than just limits on their future growth, can be achieved; that cuts can be asymmetrical; and that treaties can be verified through on-site inspection. It will also, by increasing crisis stability, obviate expensive new weapons and reinforce the goodwill and cooperation that is growing between the superpowers. After START, the thornier issue of conventional forces can be addressed.

UCS's Finish START campaign will pressure the executive and legislative branches to eliminate the roadblocks to a START agreement. These include Star Wars, the question of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, control of mobile ICBMs, sea-launched cruise missiles, on-site verification procedures, and U.S. force structure.

Key components of the campaign will be a new report detailing these roadblocks and suggesting ways to remove them; monthly mailings to newspaper editors updating them on the status of START and urging their support; expansion of our legislative efforts to involve a greater number of senators in START; and publication of a special study on verification of START and follow-on agreements. UCS's field program will urge grassroots activists to participate in editorial board meetings and lobbying efforts of their own.

In early March, UCS will celebrate its 20th year of public policy advocacy at our national meeting in Washington, D.C. This event and celebrations in Boston and San Francisco will focus attention on our Finish START campaign.

As we push for START, we must also address the question of what comes next. Answering this requires articulating a national security vision based on greatly reduced nuclear arsenals. If we fail to allay fears of such reductions, our opponents will be able to block our efforts to move beyond a START treaty to further reductions in weapons and military spending.

The challenge to UCS and others in the peace movement is to insure that our nation takes full advantage of the currents of change and the resulting opportunities for progress toward peace. *Howard Ris*
Executive Director

UCS, 26 Church St., Cambridge, MA 02238, (617) 547-5552.

APT

Reclaim the test site

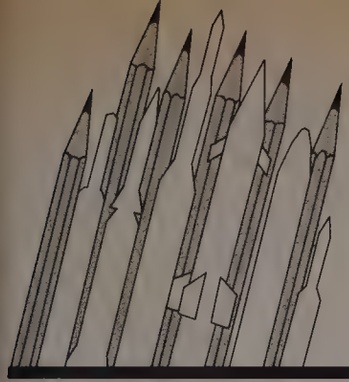
The greatest long-term impact of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech may be to assist the American peace movement in confronting the mix of madness and *realpolitik* that drives the nuclear arms race. As the Soviet leader institutes reforms at home and offers disarmament initiatives abroad, the U.S. government seems to respond with no more than cosmetic changes. The rhetoric is different, but the arms race goes on; the Bush administration may give up some specific toys, but it will not likely change the game.

Yet the arms race is precisely about "the game" and not about "defense." The rules of the game are a mixture of rationality and madness concocted from the supposed imperatives of international power, imperialism, national egoism and the reciprocal momentum and self-interest of Soviet and American military-industrial-academic complexes. The lack of substantive response from our government—when there is no rational reason to impede progress toward disarmament—is clear proof that the arms race, in E.P. Thompson's words, "is about itself."

In 1989, the work of the American Peace Test will be to take nonviolent action to challenge the inertia of the arms race. Our Reclaim the Test Site II (RTS) action April 7-16, will further the resistance to testing where it takes place. The RTS peace camp will continue the process of living our way into a peaceful world. Nationally, we will assist groups to take action against the arms race in their communities.

We will also focus efforts on working across boundaries, both internationally and within the movement. Internationally, we are calling for a moratorium on nuclear testing by all nuclear weapons states. Nationally, we will seek ways to work with other issue and constituency

PHOTO OF RIS BY © JAMES J. MACKENZIE 1988



DEADLINE

A Bulletin From the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media

MARCH/APRIL 1989 VOLUME IV, NO. 2

The Chemical Weapons Crisis: A Debate Denied

By William A. Dorman

On the early-January day following the dustup between American Tomcat jet fighters and two Libyan MIG-23s over the Mediterranean, nationally syndicated radio personality Rush Limbaugh, presumably along with every other radio call-in host in the country not doing a garden show, was holding forth on the wisdom of American foreign policy. Limbaugh, for the uninitiated, is thought by some to be the next Morton Downey, Jr. "You must understand," he instructed a caller in his most authoritative tones, defending whatever steps Reagan might decide to take in the region, "the United States is at war with the people of the Middle East."

Such ignorance, even on the part of a man who is in no sense a journalist, is characteristic of only a small body of opinion. Nonetheless, his claim has a certain resonance in public discourse these days. It is in part the result of heightened ethnocentrism born of American response to Third World challenges, in part the result of eight years of highly charged symbolic presidential politics, and in part the outcome of more than four decades of cold war conditioning to look outside for the cause of troubles at home. These forces intensify the process of selective perception that is a product of all political cultures, and in this case the universal distaste for Qaddafi among American journalists compounded the problem. But it is precisely when someone so unappealing as Qaddafi is the target of U.S. action that journalists must be most wary of their own impulses.

In fact, news coverage of the recent confrontation between the United States and Libya over chemical weapons revealed little evidence that the press as a whole was able to resist its old political and cultural reflexes where official U.S. policy is involved. A Center canvass of more than 600 news broadcast and print stories revealed a profile of coverage of chemical weapons and of the Libyan angle that for too many days was fragmented, incomplete, and confusing. With a few important exceptions, print and broadcast reporters showed little sign of possessing the kind of historical memory, sense of irony, and talent for spotting contradictions that are essential tools for responding to Washington's considerable media skills.

The result was half a debate over U.S. policy toward Libya, when the situation called for a whole one, and virtually no debate at all on the Reagan administration's own record on chemical weapons, when Washington's own actions should have called it into question.

To get a sense of how the press handled the Libya and chemical weapons stories, the Center reviewed its extensive archive of newspaper and newsmagazine coverage. All stories on the subject that aired on the three network evening news programs were analyzed as well, as were those identified through an extensive data-base search that covered additional newspapers and the major wire services.

From the beginning of the State Department's offensive against Libya in September 1988, when a briefing served to alert the press, until the Mediterranean face-off on January 4, 1989, only occasionally was there evidence of a serious attempt by journalists to set their own news agendas, establish their own frames, or follow their own sense of timing. The pot of public opinion had been simmering for almost five months by the time of the dogfight, and by then the public was well prepared to accept whatever official Washington had in store for the good Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi. After all, as *The Washington Post* editorialized September 18, "Libya can always be counted on to make the world a more dangerous place."

A Point of Law

One journalistic failure stands out among several during the period from the fall of 1988, when the State Department began its offensive, through coverage of President Reagan's implied threats against Libya, aired in a December 22 interview with ABC's David Brinkley, up to the time of the early January dogfight, when press performance began to improve. For nearly five months, major news organizations failed to inform their audience of a simple fact: Under international law it was not illegal for Libya to produce chemical weapons. The 1925 Geneva Protocol on chemical warfare proscribed only the use of such weapons.

In other words, as tensions built and the United States edged closer to a confrontation with Qaddafi, the news media—by what was left unsaid or underemphasized—left Americans with the clear impression that U.S. intervention, should it occur, would be in defense of interna-

Inside: Guide to the U.S. Moscow Press Corps

tional law. Even passing mention of what is provided for in international law does not show up until after the aerial duel over the Mediterranean, when the press also began to focus on the forthcoming Paris conference to strengthen the 1925 Geneva Protocol (which the United States had signed but did not ratify until 1975). But even after the press began to raise the legal question, it never received the kind of prominent and repetitive coverage given other parts of the story.

According to a report by David B. Ottaway in *The Washington Post* on January 8, four days after the fighter clash, reporters by this time were "repeatedly" questioning administration officials "about whether there is any legal justification for the United States to attack an industrial plant in another nation." But whatever questions reporters may have been asking officials, the matter of legal justification was underplayed or not played at all in what actually got broadcast and published.

Certainly, the question of law did not seem to trouble editorialists for *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. On the day after the Navy F-14s emerged victorious, for example, the *Post* merely found Washington "sometimes... clumsy and ineffective," despite the fact that *Post* editors and reporters had met with Secretary of State George P. Shultz on the day of the dogfight and had asked him about the law. Shultz's response was unequivocal: "It's not illegal to build a chemical warfare plant.... But it is very undesirable...."

The *Post*'s editorial insouciance aside, Ottaway's story was the only one among the hundreds examined that brought up what might well have been seen as a major contradiction in the administration's position: The same administration that had roundly criticized Israel—at least in the forum of the United Nations—for its preemptive strike against an Iraqi nuclear reactor some seven years earlier was now apparently contemplating the same kind of strike against Libya. Ottaway raised this point in his story and quoted a June 20, 1981, statement to the U.N. Security Council by then–U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Jeane J. Kirkpatrick that condemned Israel's unilateral military action.

The *Los Angeles Times* stood virtually alone among influential dailies in expressing concern about the niceties of law, which it did forcefully in an editorial headlined AMERICA AS VIGILANTE. "What has to be recognized for now, though, is that there is nothing in international law that forbids either the possession or the manufacture of chemical weapons," it read. "Libya, in short, is not committing outlawry by seeking to join a score of other states in acquiring chemical weapons." The editorial called for the United States to spare no efforts to isolate Libya diplomatically and politically, but at the same time cautioned, "Least of all, as an exponent of the rule and force of law, can [the United States] afford to be perceived as the world's vigilante, ready to use its armed forces to try to do what its diplomacy has been unable to."

The Record Ignored

A second major failure of press coverage, particularly in the two weeks immediately following Reagan's hint that military action was being considered, was the lack of attention paid to the Reagan administration's own record on the production of chemical weapons.

Here was a president of the United States assuming the moral high ground on the issue of chemical weapons, even suggesting, in effect, that he might have to take

(continued on page 10)

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Robert Karl Manoff

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1989

MOSCOW PRESS CORPS WHO'S WHO

Twenty-six American news organizations have correspondents in Moscow, and the number is growing. These forty men and nine women (six journalist couples among them) are responsible for most of what Americans know about the Soviet Union. **JIM MAROE**, a Center researcher, prepared this first annual reader's and reporter's guide to the corps.

ABC News

RICK INDERFURTH, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Begins: April 1989.

Education and Relevant Preparation: Study in Russian language as undergraduate; three months intensive study prior to assignment. B.A., International Relations and Soviet Studies, University of North Carolina, 1968; M.A., Politics, Princeton University, 1974.

Thumbnail Résumé: Staff member, U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee, 1975–76. Staff member, National Security Council, 1977–79. Deputy staff director, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1979–81. Pentagon correspondent, ABC, 1981–84; national security correspondent, 1985–89.

JIM LAURIE, Moscow Bureau Chief

Assignment Began: January 1989

Education and Relevant Preparation: Two-month course in Russian language, Monterey Institute of International Studies (Monterey, Calif.), 1988. B.A., History, American University, 1970. Graduate study, Sino-Soviet Institute, George Washington University, 1973–74.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, NBC, New York, 1971–73; Saigon correspondent, 1973–75. Contributor, *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Washington), 1973–74. General assignment correspondent, NBC, New York, Beirut, Hong Kong, Tokyo, 1975–78; Hong Kong bureau chief, 1978–81; Beijing bureau chief, 1981–83; Tokyo bureau chief, 1983–87; on temporary assignment for ABC, 1988.

Miscellaneous: Replaces Walter Rodgers, and will be joined in Moscow later this year by ABC national security correspondent Rick Inderfurth. ABC will thus become the first network to have two correspondents in Moscow, allowing one to travel.

Laurie won an Emmy in 1984 for his coverage of the Aquino assassination.

Associated Press

JOHN-THOR DAHLBURG, Moscow Reporter

Assignment Began: July 1986

Education and Relevant Preparation: Undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate study in Russian language. B.A., Politics, Washington & Lee University, 1975. Ph.D., Politics, University of Paris, Toulouse, 1980. D.E.A., Russian Language, Order of Lenin University, Lvov, 1983.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, United Press International, Washington, 1972. Correspondent, *Time*, Paris, 1974. Reporter, *Boca Raton News*, 1980–81; Associated Press, Miami, 1981–83; *Europ* magazine, Paris, 1983–84. Correspondent, Associated Press, foreign desk in New York, 1984–86.

ANDREW KATELL, Moscow Reporter

Assignment Began: June 1987

Education and Relevant Preparation: Summer program in Russian language at Middlebury College, 1978. Four months of Russian language study at Leningrad State University, 1979. B.S., Broadcast Journalism and Russian Language and Culture, Syracuse University, 1980.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter/editor, Associated Press, New York, 1980–87; U.N. correspondent, 1985–88.

ANN IMSE, Moscow Reporter

Assignment Began: September 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: One year of study in Russian language and culture, Leningrad State University, 1974–75. B.A., Russian Studies, University of Washington, 1974. M.A., Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, 1976.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, Associated Press, Washington, D.C., 1976–77; *Colorado Springs Sun*, 1977–79; Fournier (Colo.) Newspapers, 1979–80; *Denver Post*, 1980–83. Freelance reporter, 1983–84. Reporter, *Orange County* (Calif.) *Register*, 1984–88.

MARK PORUBCANSKY, Moscow Reporter

Assignment Began: February 1987

Education and Relevant Preparation: Undergraduate study and specialized training in Russian language prior to assignment. B.A., Politics and Government, Ripon College, 1977. Six-week refresher course in Russian at Inlingua Institute in New York.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *Hibbing* (Minn.) *Tribune*, 1977–78. Legislative aide, Wisconsin State Legislature, 1978–79. Reporter, *New Ulm* (Wis.) *Journal*, 1979–81. Reporter, Associated Press, Bismarck, N.D., 1981–86. Correspondent, Associated Press, foreign desk in New York, 1986–87.

MIKE PUTZEL, Moscow Bureau Chief

Assignment Began: June 1987

Education and Relevant Preparation: Six months of Russian language study with private tutors in Washington prior to assignment. B.A., Political Science, University of North Carolina, 1967.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *The Charleston* (W.Va.) *Gazette*, 1963–67. Reporter, Associated Press, Washington,1967–69; Saigon, 1969–71; Washington, 1971–72; Saigon, 1972; Washington, 1972– 85. White House correspondent, 1986–87.

Miscellaneous: Putzel's ascent to Moscow was not via the typical AP route, which is by way of the foreign desk in New York. Married to Ann Blackman, Moscow correspondent for *Time*.

The Baltimore Sun

SCOTT SHANE, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: November 1987

Education and Relevant Preparation: Undergraduate study and specialized training in Russian language. Seven-month refresher course in Russian prior to assignment. B.A., English Literature, Williams College, 1976. B.A., English Literature, Oxford University, 1978.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *Washington Star*, 1979–80; *Greensboro* (N.C.) *News & Record*, 1980–83. General assignment reporter, *Baltimore Sun*, 1983–85; medical writer, 1985–87.

Business Week/McGraw-Hill

PETER GALUSZKA, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: August 1986

Education and Relevant Preparation: Undergraduate study in Russian language. Private tutoring in Russian language, 1985–86. B.A., Political Science, Tufts University, 1974.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *The Washington* (N.C.) *Daily News*, 1974–75; *The Virginian Pilot*, 1975; *The Norfolk Ledger-Star*, 1975–76; *The Virginian Pilot*, 1976–81; *The Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 1981–83. Associate editor, McGraw-Hill's *Coal Week*, Washington, 1983–84; correspondent, McGraw-Hill *World News*, Chicago, 1984–86.

Miscellaneous: Galuszka is scheduled to be replaced in September by Rose Brady, staff editor, international department, McGraw-Hill.

CBS News

BARRY PETERSEN, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: January 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: No formal training in Russian language before assignment. B.S., Journalism, Northwestern University, 1970. M.S., Journalism, Northwestern University, 1972.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *Milwaukee Journal*, 1971–72; WITI-TV (Milwaukee), 1972–74; WCCO-TV (Minneapolis), 1974–78; CBS News, Los Angeles, 1978–81. Correspondent, CBS, San Francisco, 1981–86; Tokyo, 1986–88.

Miscellaneous: Married to Jan Chorlton, Moscow reporter, CBS Radio.

CBS Radio

JAN CHORLTON, Moscow Reporter

Assignment Began: April 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: No formal training in Russian language before assignment. Private tutoring in Russian since arrival in Moscow. B.A., English Literature, University of Washington, 1972.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, producer, anchor, KIRO-TV (Seattle), 1974–84. Reporter, KRON-TV (San Francisco), 1985; reporter, CBS Radio, 1986–88.

Miscellaneous: Married to Barry Petersen, Moscow correspondent, CBS News.

Chicago Tribune

VINCENT SCHODOLSKI, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: June 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: One year of study at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University, including six months with a language tutor, prior to assignment. B.A., English Literature, Fordham University, 1972.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, Commodity News Service (New York), 1973–76; Reuters, London, 1975–76; Unicom News Service, London, 1976–78. Reporter, United Press International, London, 1978–79; bureau chief, Stockholm, 1979–80; Beirut, 1980–83. General assignment reporter, *Chicago Tribune*, 1983–85; Latin American correspondent, 1985–88.

Miscellaneous: Married to Elaine Carey, Moscow bureau chief, Cox Newspapers.

The Christian Science Monitor

PAUL QUINN-JUDGE, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: June 1986

Education and Relevant Preparation: B.A., Slavic Languages, Cambridge University, 1971. M.A., Slavic Languages, Cambridge University, 1973.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *Manchester Guardian*, 1981–85. Special correspondent, *The Christian Science Monitor*, Indochina, 1985–86. Simultaneously, correspondent, *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

Miscellaneous: Married to Sophia Quinn-Judge, free-lance reporter in Moscow for *The Christian Science Monitor*.

SOPHIA QUINN-JUDGE, Free-lance Reporter

Assignment Began: June 1986

Education and Relevant Preparation: B.A., Russian Studies and Russian Language, University of Michigan, 1970.

Thumbnail Résumé: Staff member, the American Friends Service Committee, 1973–82. Free-lance reporter, Bangkok, 1982–86. Contributor, *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

Miscellaneous: Married to Paul Quinn-Judge, Moscow correspondent, *The Christian Science Monitor*.

CNN News

STEVEN HURST, Moscow Bureau Chief

Assignment Began: April 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: Study in Russian language and advanced Soviet studies, Russian and East European Studies Center, University of Illinois, 1976. Six months of private tutoring in Russian, 1979. Periodic tutoring, 1979–present. B.A., Philosophy, Milliken University, 1969. M.A., Journalism, University of Missouri, 1972.

Thumbnail Résumé: Bureau chief, Associated Press, Moscow, 1979–80; Ankara, 1980–81; Moscow, 1981–84. Correspondent, NBC News, London, 1984–85; Moscow bureau chief, 1985–87.

Cox Newspapers

ELAINE CAREY, Moscow Bureau Chief

Assignment Began: September 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: Fellow in Russian and Soviet history, politics, and literature, Harvard University, 1987–88. B.A., English Literature, Grinnell College, 1976.

Thumbnail Résumé: London correspondent, Fairchild Publications, 1976–78. Free-lance correspondent reporting from London (1978–79), Scandinavia (1979–80), the Middle East (1981–84), and Latin America (1985–87) for ABC Radio, *The Christian Science Monitor*, and *U.S. News & World Report*.

Miscellaneous: Married to Vincent Schodolski, Moscow correspondent, *Chicago Tribune*.

Los Angeles Times

MICHAEL PARKS, Moscow Bureau Chief

Assignment Began: May 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: Six-week Russian language course in Los Angeles prior to assignment. B.A., Classical Languages and English Literature, University of Windsor (Canada), 1965.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *Detroit News*, 1962–65; Time-Life News Service, 1965–66. Assistant city editor, *Suffolk* (N.Y.) *Sun*, 1966–68. Reporter, *The Baltimore Sun*, 1968–70; Saigon correspondent, 1970–72; Moscow correspondent, 1972–75; Middle East correspondent based in Cairo, 1975–79; Hong Kong bureau chief, 1979; Beijing bureau chief, 1979–80. Beijing bureau chief, *Los Angeles Times*, 1980–84; Johannesburg bureau chief, 1984–88.

Miscellaneous: Received the 1987 Pulitzer Prize in international reporting for coverage of events in South Africa.

Mutual Broadcasting

MARTIN SIXSMITH, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: December 1988
Education and Relevant Preparation: Summer study in Russian at Leningrad Polytechnic, 1974, and Kuban State University (Krasnodar), 1976. B.A., Russian and French Languages, New College, Oxford University, 1977. Study toward Ph.D. in Russian literature, Harvard University, 1977–79, and St. Anthony's College at Oxford, 1979–80.
Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, BBC-TV, London, 1980–82; correspondent, Brussels, 1982–85; Geneva, 1986; Eastern European correspondent based in Warsaw, 1986–88.
Miscellaneous: Will continue as Moscow correspondent for BBC while reporting for Mutual Broadcasting.

National Public Radio

ANN COOPER, Moscow Reporter
Assignment Began: January 1987
Education and Relevant Preparation: One year of private tutoring in Russian language and culture prior to assignment. B.S., Journalism, Iowa State University, 1971.
Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *The Yuma* (Ariz.) *Daily Sun*, 1969. Reporter, *The Louisville Courier-Journal*, 1971–75; Capitol Hill News Service, 1975–79. Free-lance reporter, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 1979–80. Reporter, *The Baltimore Sun*, 1980–84; *National Journal*, 1984–86.
Miscellaneous: Married to Bill Keller, Moscow bureau chief, *The New York Times*. Contributes to the *Times* as a free-lance reporter.

NBC News

BOB ABERNATHY, Moscow Bureau Chief
Assignment Begins: March 1989
Education and Relevant Preparation: Private tutoring in Russian language to begin with assignment in Moscow. A.B., Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1950; M.P.A., 1952. Study at Yale Divinity School, 1984–85.
Thumbnail Résumé: Deskman, NBC, Washington, D.C., 1952–55; London correspondent, 1955–58; Washington correspondent, 1958–66. Anchor and commentator, KNBC-TV (Los Angeles), 1966–77. Washington correspondent, NBC *Today*, 1977–80. Washington correspondent, NBC News, 1980–89.
Miscellaneous: Replaces Sandy Gilmour, who served in the post from May, 1987–February, 1989.

The New York Journal of Commerce

ALBERT AXEBANK, Moscow Correspondent
Assignment Began: June 1984
Education and Relevant Preparation: Private tutoring in Russian language, 1985–86. Studied Japanese literature at Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan, 1960–63
Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, UPI, Taiwan, 1963–64; Tokyo, 1964–70. Professor of English, Sophia University, 1970–75. Special correspondent, North American News Alliance, 1975–84.

The New York Times

FRANCIS X. CLINES, Moscow Correspondent
Assignment Began: January 1989
Education and Relevant Preparation: Eight months of private tutoring in Russian language prior to assignment. Undergraduate study at St. Francis College, Fordham University, and St. John's University.
Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *The New York Times*, 1958–70; Albany bureau chief, 1970–75; City Hall bureau chief, New York City, 1976–79; Washington, 1979–86; London, 1986–88.
Miscellaneous: Clines has reported for the *Times* from Moscow on a number of occasions, including a brief tour of duty during the Yeltsin affair in November 1988.

ESTHER FEIN, Moscow Free-lance Reporter
Assignment Began: October 1988
Education and Relevant Preparation: Summer of study in Russian language at Middlebury College, 1987. Continued with private tutoring, fall 1987. B.A., American Studies, Barnard College, 1981.
Thumbnail Résumé: Copyperson, *The New York Times*, 1981—84; reporter, 1984–87. Free-lance correspondent, *The New York Times* and *U.S. News & World Report*, 1987–88.
Miscellaneous: Married to David Remnick, Moscow correspondent, *The Washington Post*.

BILL KELLER, Moscow Bureau Chief
Assignment Began: December 1986
Education and Relevant Preparation: Six months of tutoring in Russian language prior to assignment. B.A., English Literature, Pomona College, 1970.
Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *The Oregonian*, 1970–79; *The Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, 1980–82; *The Dallas Times-Herald*, 1982–84. Domestic correspondent, *The New York Times*, 1984–86. Became Moscow bureau chief in January 1989.
Miscellaneous: Married to Ann Cooper, Moscow reporter, National Public Radio, and free-lance reporter, *The New York Times*. Keller replaced Philip Taubman as Moscow bureau chief. Felicity Barringer, who worked at the bureau as a free-lance reporter, left Moscow with Taubman, her husband.

Newsday

ALISON MITCHELL, Moscow Bureau Chief
Assignment Began: February 1989
Education and Relevant Preparation: Six months of private tutoring in Russian language, 1988. B.A., History and Literature, Radcliffe College, 1976.
Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *The Reporter* (Hackensack, N.J.), 1976–77. Reporter, *Newsday*, 1977–81; Albany bureau chief, 1981–84; Washington correspondent, 1984–88.

Newsweek

CARROLL BOGERT, Moscow Correspondent
Assignment Began: January 1989
Education and Relevant Preparation: Four months of study in Russian language in the Slavic Department of Harvard University prior to assignment. B.A., Social Studies, Harvard University, 1984. M.A., East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1986.
Thumbnail Résumé: Free-lance reporter, Manila and Beijing, *Newsweek*, 1986. Correspondent, Hong Kong bureau, 1987–88.

FRED COLEMAN, Moscow Bureau Chief
Assignment Began: September 1988
Education and Relevant Preparation: Undergraduate study in Russian language. B.A., Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1960.
Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, Associated Press, 1961–64; Moscow correspondent 1964–67; London correspondent, 1967–74; London bureau chief and news editor, 1974–76. Moscow bureau chief, *Newsweek*, 1976–79. Chief diplomatic correspondent, Washington, 1979–81; senior editor, 1981–83; co-executive editor, International Edition, 1983–88.

The Philadelphia Inquirer

STEVE GOLDSTEIN, Moscow Correspondent
Assignment Began: March 1986
Education and Relevant Preparation: Nine months of study in Russian language at Bryn Mawr College prior to assignment. B.S., Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1971. M.S., Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, 1973.
Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *The Staten Island* (N.Y.) *Advance*, 1973–75.

Reporter, the New York *Daily News*, 1975–78; transportation editor, 1978–79; sportswriter, 1979–81. Sportswriter, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1981–86.

Time

ANN BLACKMAN, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: July 1987

Education and Relevant Preparation: Six months of study in Russian language prior to assignment. Diplôme, French Civilization and Language, the Sorbonne, 1967. B.A., English and French Literature, University of Connecticut, 1968.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *The Boston Globe*, 1969; Associated Press, 1969–85. Deputy bureau chief and news editor, *Time*, Washington bureau, 1985–88.

Miscellaneous: Married to Mike Putzel, Moscow bureau chief, Associated Press.

PAUL HOFHEINZ, Moscow Reporter

Assignment Began: August 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: One year of Russian language study as undergraduate. Private tutoring in Russian, 1985–86. B.A., History, Yale University, 1984. M.A., Soviet Politics, London School of Economics, 1986.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *Time*, London, 1986–88.

JOHN KOHAN, Moscow Bureau Chief

Assignment Began: June 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: Certificate, Russian Language, Leningrad State University, 1974. B.A., Comparative Literature, University of Virginia, 1974. M.A., Comparative Literature, Columbia University, 1975.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *Time*, 1975–81; staff writer, Bonn, 1981–85; correspondent, Bonn, 1985–88.

United Press International

JOHN IAMS, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: August 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: Two years private tutoring in Russian during first assignment in Moscow. Two years study at Monmouth College, (N.J.), 1963–64.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *Ocean County* (N.J.) *Leader*, 1964–65. Reporter, United Press International, New York, 1967–79; London, 1979–83; Moscow, 1983–86; Johannesburg, 1986–88.

CHARLES MITCHELL, Moscow Bureau Chief

Assignment Began: May 1986

Education and Relevant Preparation: Self-taught in Russian. B.A., Economics, University of Pennsylvania, 1975.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), 1976–79. Correspondent, United Press International, Johannesburg, 1979–82; Nairobi bureau chief, 1982–86; Moscow, 1986–88; became bureau chief in 1988.

GERALD NADLER, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: May 1987

Education and Relevant Preparation: B.A., Slavic Languages and Literatures, Boston University, 1963. M.A., Soviet Area Studies, Harvard University, 1979.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *The Salem* (Mass.) *Evening News*, 1966–69; *The Boston Record American* (later *Boston Herald*), 1969–72. Editor, United Press International, New York and Washington, 1973–82; correspondent, Jerusalem, 1982–86.

ROMAN ROLLNICK, London Correspondent

Assignment Began: January, 1984

Education and Relevant Preparation: No formal training in Russian language prior to assignment. Two years of study, European politics, geography, and literature, the Sorbonne, 1972–74.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *The Cape Town Times*, 1970–71. Reporter, Agence France-Presse, South Africa, 1974–79; Hong Kong, 1979–82. Correspondent, United Press International, Brussels, 1982–84; London-based roving correspondent, Africa, Western Europe, Warsaw, Moscow, 1984–present.

Miscellaneous: Serves as vacation relief for other UPI Moscow correspondents; at other times, Rollnick works out of UPI's London office.

U.S. News & World Report

JEFF TRIMBLE, Moscow Bureau Chief

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Education and Relevant Preparation: Fifteen months of study in Russian language at Pushkin Institute (Moscow), 1979–81. B.A., Journalism and Soviet Studies, Ohio State University, 1978; M.A., Journalism and International Studies, Ohio State University, 1982. Intensive course in "Political Russian," School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University (Washington, D.C.), 1986.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, *Kansas City* (Mo.) *Star*, 1978. Reporter, *U.S. News & World Report*, Washington, 1980; New York bureau, 1982–83; Rome bureau chief, 1983–86.

Voice of America

ANDRE DE NESNERA, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: January 1989

Education and Relevant Preparation: Baccalauréat, Lycée Henri IV/Sorbonne Program 1967. B.A., Journalism, Fordham University, 1972. M.A., School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 1977.

Thumbnail Résumé: Editorial assistant, CBS News, 1972–74. Interpreter, Department of State, 1974–79. Washington correspondent, Voice of America, 1980–84; Geneva bureau chief, 1984–88.

Miscellaneous: Member of the Reagan/Bush transition team, 1980. The Soviet government recently granted VOA permission to base its Soviet reporter, who previously worked out of Geneva, in Moscow.

The Wall Street Journal

PETER GUMBEL, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: April 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: Six months of training in Russian language and culture at Columbia University prior to assignment. First Class Honors, Bristol University (England), in German language and art history, 1981.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, Reuters, London, 1981–82; Brussels, 1982–83; Copenhagen, 1983–84. Bonn correspondent, *The European Wall Street Journal*, 1984–87; assistant foreign editor, New York, 1987–88.

The Washington Post

MICHAEL DOBBS, Moscow Bureau Chief

Assignment Began: September 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: One year of study at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University, prior to assignment. B.A., Economics and Economic History, University of York (England), 1972.

Thumbnail Résumé: Reporter, Reuters, 1972–74; correspondent, Rome, 1974–75. Free-lance reporter, East Africa, 1976–77. Free-lance reporter for *The Washington Post*, BBC, *The Sunday Times* (London), and *The Manchester Guardian*, 1977–81. Warsaw correspondent, *The Washington Post*, 1981–85; national desk, 1985–88.

DAVID REMNICK, Moscow Correspondent

Assignment Began: February 1988

Education and Relevant Preparation: Summer program in Russian language at Middlebury College, 1987. B.A., Comparative Literature, Princeton University, 1981.

Thumbnail Résumé: Instructor of English, Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan, 1981–82. Book reviewer, *Asahi Evening News*, 1981–82. Reporter, *The Washington Post*, 1982–88.

Miscellaneous: Married to Esther Fein, free-lance reporter in Moscow for *The New York Times*.

The Bipartisanship Boomlet

Reporters Covering the Government All Too Often Succumb to the Urge to Run It

By Robert Karl Manoff

Denizens of Fleet Street, where English scribblers have traditionally plied their trade, have a simple rule for sorting out the profusion of papers that offer something to wrap tomorrow's fish and chips in. The *Times*, they say, is for people who run the country. The *Telegraph* is for people who think they run the country. The *Daily Mail* is for people who don't care who runs the country. And the *Sun*, which features pinups on page three, is for people who don't care who runs the country so long as they are fetching.

Although this is a tale about readers, the joke, told by reporters, is really one they are telling on themselves. For journalism's little secret (actually, it's not much of a secret) is the romance the press carries on with political power. Like their readers, journalists are stratified according to their ability to exercise influence in the public sphere, and it is the ambition of all journalists to trade in the pinup for the quiet sit-down with, for example, the prime minister or the secretary of state.

American journalism can, of course, be sorted out in a similar manner, but beneath such ironic distinctions lies a more basic one. It could easily be seen in coverage of the stock market crash a couple of years ago. Papers like *The New York Times*, pitched to those with power, influence, and money, went into great detail about the best role for the Fed to play. *USA Today*, pitched to the modest white-collar classes, went with such stories as, IF BROKER GOES BROKE, HOW AM I COVERED? and HUMAN TOLL OF STOCK FALL. The contrast is between the journalism of *policy*, upheld by the *Times*, and the journalism of *experience*, perfected by *USA Today*. The former is impersonal; the latter often personalizes. The former is interested in consequences for institutions; the latter takes up the story of how individuals make do. The *Times* writes about managing; *USA Today* about coping.

The distinction between journalism written primarily in the statist voice and that whose discourse is primarily civil is an important one. Journalism of the statist variety operates within parameters largely established—albeit informally—by the state. Such journalism typically accepts the dominant paradigms for debate, calls on official sources, is preoccupied with policy, focuses on government action, and is exceedingly respectful of the prerogatives of the state. In contrast, the civil voice in journalism responds to the concerns of prepolitical, or perhaps extrapolitical, society. It has frequent recourse to moral authority; depends on unmediated, direct individual expression; honors personal experience—and, in contrast to statist journalism, has almost no direct influence on policy.

Statist journalism is the powerful journalism, and there is nothing more attractive than power to the proper journalist. At least since Walter Lippmann, in fact, a number of this country's best journalists have crossed the divide between reporting and governing to stake out careers as philosopher-journalists equally at ease in offices within the executive branch and their own newsrooms. Lippmann was perhaps the most influential of the breed, and also the most interesting, because although close to politicians he also distrusted them to administer the affairs of state. Vulnerable, in Lippmann's view, to the whims of an inconstant and fickle public, elected officials, and certainly those who elected them, would be best served by reposing the actual task of running government in the hands of trained administrators whose sole task would be the application of reason to the tasks of the state.

Lippmann was the paladin of managerialism, but it has had many advocates, both inside the press and out, in the decades since. In the national security arena, even those less radical proponents of the idea share a conviction that democratic politics is the enemy of successful foreign and defense policy. The intellectual genealogy here runs from Tocqueville, through Dean Acheson ("If you truly had a democracy and did what the people wanted," he said, "you'd go wrong every time") to George Will. As Will put it the day after the Reykjavik summit concluded, "It takes some nerve to do what the president did" by rejecting Soviet pressure on SDI, since, as Will added disapprovingly, "the Western publics have never met an arms control agreement they didn't like."

Policy and the Public

Of course, the participation of the public in the making of foreign policy is a relatively new phenomenon. It can be dated back to the eve of the First World War, the first of the universal, "total wars" (to use Clausewitz's term) that required the mobilization of the entire political, economic, and social resources of the belligerent nations. Mass mobilization on that scale required mass motivation, and, as Theodore Roosevelt told a British journalist at the time, it was necessary "to get my fellow countrymen into the proper mental attitude" to accomplish it.

Once unleashed, however, the public became an undependable partner with government in the foreign policy arena, difficult to rouse, but once roused, difficult to contain. The real threat to the professional management of foreign policy has been the political organization of public energies initially released for the purposes of mobilization. Historically speaking, the extraordinary requirements of total war required the mass mobilization of democratic constituencies that, once aroused, threatened to overwhelm the very policy machinery that had brought them into being.

In the national security and foreign policy sphere, "bipartisanship" was, at least in part, a response to this threat to the traditional structure of foreign policy man-

agement. Usually seen as a legacy of the Roosevelt administration, it is bathed in the rosy glow that now surrounds our memories of the post–World War Two period, when, so the story goes, especially after the conversion of Senator Arthur Vandenberg, members of the executive and legislative branches of both parties cooperated in the formation and execution of foreign policy in the belief, as it was said, that politics stops at the water's edge. In the postwar period, in other words, bipartisanship was the form in which managerialism manifested itself in the national security sphere.

Invoking the same "water's edge" imagery, President Bush promised "the age of the offered hand" at his inaugural and was greeted with enthusiasm in the press. "To those in the vast audience below him," *The New York Times* editorialized, "it was a tingling moment." The president's injunction that "the old bipartisanship must be made new again" had in fact been anticipated four years earlier, when Secretary of State George P. Shultz called for bipartisanship in the interest of "consistency, coherence, discipline, and a sense of strategy" in foreign policy. In doing so, however, the secretary went on to add his voice to those of the democratic skeptics, warning that "these qualities are not easy for democracies," implying thereby that "bipartisanship" is in fact an antidote, a cure for, a check upon, democratic politics.

> Managerialism is an instrumentalist vision. But journalism can be at its best when affairs are not going well.

In this he is in fact correct, although the accounts of bipartisanship that shape our views of its history paint it rather as the triumph and not the negation of the American political project. More than a compact on particular policies, in political terms bipartisanship is above all an agreement that the constituencies to which each politician is responsible will be lined up behind the agreed-upon course of action or allowed to remain inert. In this sense, a bipartisan consensus on national security issues is actually an agreement undertaken by politicians to avert politics.

Whether expressing itself in bipartisanship or not, however, the managerial, antipolitical ethos is one that is by now widely shared by diverse foreign policy elites and by the press, which often takes its cues from them. Philosopher-journalists such as Lippmann, Arthur Kroc, and James Reston are fewer in number than once was the case, but their values have been diffused throughout a national security press corps that is likely to believe that it is now committed to real reporting, and no longer to thumb-sucking, as punditry is delicately referred to in the trade.

Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer represent telling examples. For years their show has been considered the thinking person's answer to the network news, a disinterested query about the meaning of events. Despite its reputation, however, from the very beginning the MacNeil/Lehrer formula has been shaped not only by the journalist's desire to discover what is happening but by the manager's desire to control the consequences. From its inception, the show invited its guests not to argue assumptions but to propose courses of action; not to debate principles but to discuss programs. Tools and techniques are of prime importance in such journalism, as Andrew Kopkind wrote some years ago: "They are the stuff of the instrumentalist vision, according to which society is a machine to be fixed, political conflicts are technical problems to be solved, and designated experts are the technicians appointed to do the job."

Such news, in other words, is an instrument of management, and, according to one survey by unhappy staff members, fully three-quarters of the show's guests are the current or former government officials who do the managing. This essentially statist orientation is confirmed by the program's treatment of "Real People," as they are called around the *MacNeil/Lehrer* set. "Real People don't work," producers are wont to say. At one time the program did occasionally play host to the kind of people whose daily lives are the alpha and omega of policy, but today the program interviews them out where they live and then splices their remarks into taped reports put together by the program's staff. Processed and bracketed in this fashion, it's a form of what Stalin called democratic centralism: You tell us what you think and we'll tell you what you really mean.

Alas for MacNeil/Lehrer, Jonathan Alter, *Newsweek*'s media reporter, announced a while back that *Nightline* "is now the forum of choice"—and Ted Koppel a credible candidate for secretary of state. Journalists, however, do not have to enter government to share the managerial ethos that has become one of the controlling ideologies of governance. A student of Henry Kissinger's realpolitik, Koppel, like MacNeil/Lehrer, is interested in people with power. "Ted wants to get the players," a member of his staff has said about those interviewed on *Nightline*. But more important than the guests are the assumptions behind the questions he puts to them. For despite his reputation as a tough questioner, Koppel's interrogatory agenda is shaped and limited by a managerial agenda.

The Rules Applied

This January's rebroadcast of *The Day After*—the made-for-TV movie that simulated a nuclear attack on Kansas City—served as a reminder of the role Koppel had played when it was first aired in 1983. At the time, many in the policy community feared that the public would be so unnerved by the film that the subsequent management of deterrence would become a politically costly proposition. Koppel began addressing the problem as soon as *The Day After* went off the air and a special edition of ABC's *Viewpoint* came on.

"You probably need it about now," he began, constructing the bridge between the civil discourse of the

film and the statist discourse of what was to follow. "There is some good news. If you can, take a quick look outside the window. It's all still there. Your neighborhood is still there; so is Kansas City and Lawrence. . . . What we've all just seen is sort of a nuclear version of Charles Dickens's *Christmas Carol*." *Managerial Rule Number One: Reduce the urgency of the issue.*

Next Koppel turned to Secretary of State Shultz, who guided the powerful emotions stirred by the film into narrow political channels. He did so by replacing what might have been moral judgments about nuclear war (Harry Truman called it "terrible") with an instrumental one: Nuclear warfare, he said simply, was merely "not acceptable." Koppel and the secretary then immediately undertook a discussion of Reagan administration policy that took viewers far from the subject of the film and even farther from the emotions it had stirred. *Rule Number Two: Depoliticize the discussion by politicizing it within acceptable boundaries.*

Koppel then turned to the other panelists, William Buckley, Kissinger, Robert McNamara, Carl Sagan, Brent Scowcroft, and Elie Wiesel, all of whom either discussed deterrence strategy or the abstract danger of nuclear war. *Rule Number Three: Restrict the discussion to authorities in the mainstream and exclude anyone who might make an appeal for popular mobilization.*

"Let me bring it back to the family level," Koppel told Schultz. "What if you were answering the question [about the threat of nuclear war] to your son or to your granddaughter?" Later, after Sagan had rebutted Shultz's contention that the administration was already disarming, pointing out that it was increasing the number of strategic warheads from 9,000 to 14,000, Koppel turned to the scientist. "Carl," he said, "forgive me. Let us leave it in those general terms, because I must confess statistics leave my mind reeling and, I suspect, everybody else's too." *Rule Number Four: Infantilize the public.*

Within minutes, Koppel took the floor to emphasize "the danger that, in being human about what we've just seen, we may become not only impractical, but unwise." Later in the week, that became the theme of *The Crisis Game*, a four-hour ABC simulation of National Security Council decision-making, during which the NSC repelled a Soviet thrust through Iran toward the Persian Gulf without precipitating a nuclear war. Koppel was enthusiastic about the simulation, as he told an interviewer for *Entertainment Tonight*: "If, by creating a situation that's worse than anything we've seen in the last forty years, we can't push people into a nuclear confrontation, maybe that actually says something good about the balance of terror, if you will, that exists in the world today." *Rule Number Five: Reduce ethical and political questions to questions about management and technique. Corollary: Demonstrate that everything is under control.*

Entropy and Enterprise

There is an irony here, however, for control is in fact the nemesis of journalism, as every journalist knows. The best stories are most often the result of personal and institutional conflicts, the outgrowth of managerial crises, the fruits of chaos. It is under conditions of stress that individuals approach reporters with a lead or a leak, that institutions take their case to others through the press, and that bureaucratic messages are sent and received through the public but deeply encoded language of press reports. Among the most important things that journalists learn about the affairs of state they learn because, at least from someone's perspective, these affairs are going badly.

Journalism can therefore be at its best when the affairs of state are not being well managed. The periods of chaos provide its glory days; and even in periods of calm all journalists hope to find themselves a dissident—or that a dissident will find them. When it comes to the fact that leading national security journalists subscribe to the managerial ethos, it is ironic, because the successful management of such affairs would dry up some of the wellsprings of journalism at their source. Indeed, the heyday of bipartisanship during the postwar period produced some lean years for journalism. As the general counsel of the Atomic Energy Commission said at the time, when the AEC was responsible for the country's atomic research and weapons production, the press covered the commisssion "rarely with more penetrating comment or follow-up than that which accompanies the society news." It is not an accident that it was not until a few months ago that the press discovered the health, environmental, and national security risks posed, for example, by tritium production in a nuclear weapons industry that always enjoyed bipartisan support.

Vibrant journalism cannot exist with national security managerialism, and more important, neither, in the final analysis, can democratic politics. As journalists continue to celebrate the spectacle of bipartisan renewal mounted by the Bush administration, it is important to remember that passivity bred of a certain bipartisan consensus helped make it possible for the NSC cabal to take over Central American policy and that the cause was not too much politics but too little, not too little management, but too much. And amid calls for a bipartisan renaissance it is important to remember that the usurpation of policy has nothing in common with its politicization.

It is a fact of our national life that we have not yet invented the means by which we can attend to our security as a nation without compromising democratic politics as a people. In the scheme of things, this is not really very surprising, since we have not really been at the task very long. The democratic governance of national security policy is, in geopolitical time, a new idea. It is a shame that some of the best journalists among us seem to have lost confidence in it before we have had much of a chance to see if we can make it work. □

ROBERT KARL MANOFF is director of the Center. Versions of these remarks have been presented at annual meetings of the American Political Science Association and the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management.

Chemical Weapons Crisis

(continued from page 2)

the law into his own hands in the name of a higher good. Such implicit claims to moral superiority could certainly have been situated with reference to the administration's own chemical weapons record, which bears on its authority to speak and act in the name of the greater good. In fact, almost immediately upon taking office, the Reagan administration had relentlessly pressured Congress to put the United States back in the business of chemical weapons after an eighteen-year American moratorium, and Vice President George Bush had cast three tie-breaking votes in the Senate to resume production.

As a result of the Reagan full-court press, Congress finally relented and the United States resumed production in December 1987—only a year before the campaign against Libya reached its peak—when the Army began production of a new generation of 155mm binary chemical artillery shells. The White House was also pushing for a "Bigeye" bomb and a warhead for the multiple-rocket-launcher system.

Not until after the dogfight and just before the conference on chemical weapons had opened in Paris on January 7 did the subject of U.S. chemical weapon stockpiles and the Reagan record begin to receive significant mention in news stories. Even then only three reports stand out in the mass of coverage for their sober attention to the American record. The earliest was a January 5 news analysis filed from Washington by Reuters, which was the first major news organization to quote sources offering perspectives other than the administration's. Instead of relying on Secretary of State Shultz, Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, and the ubiquitous anonymous officials, Reuters's Christopher Hanson quoted Michael Bunn of the Arms Control Association and Gordon Burck of the Federation of American Scientists. He also used figures provided by the Foundation on Economic Trends to the effect that American spending on chemical arms had "increased dramatically over the past several years, from some $37 million in 1981 to an estimated $271 million in 1988."

Another exceptional piece was a January 6 story by Robert Cooke in *Newsday*, U.S. A LEADER IN CHEMICAL WEAPONS, which appeared in the midst of the public's elation over the Mediterranean "Top Gun" episode, and on the eve of the Paris conference. Cooke's lead catches the thrust of his analysis: "The United States, which has expressed horror over the use of poison gas in the Iran-Iraq war and fears that Libya is gearing up to make such gases, is itself a leader in chemical warfare research and development." Cooke wrote that from 1980 to 1987, the federal government had allocated $1.55 billion for chemical warfare research and development.

The third exception was a January 10 NBC evening news broadcast, in which Tom Brokaw went to the heart of the matter. "For all this talk against chemical weapons, for all the claims that Libya is making these weapons," Brokaw said, "it turns out that the United States is pushing ahead to expand its own chemical weapon development." The story was tied to the submission of Reagan's last budget to the Congress, which had occurred that day, and noted that it called for dramatic expansion of the American chemical weapons arsenal over a three-year period. At the height of public attention to the Paris conference, organized with American assistance to put an end to chemical warfare, NBC was alone among major news organizations in spotting what amounted to a major contradiction posed by the administration's new budget.

Looking the Other Way

The administration's record on the production of chemical weapons was not the only aspect of its tenure that the press overlooked. Equally deserving of journalistic scrutiny was the relationship between its actions during the eight-year Iran-Iraq war and the position it was taking on Libya. Libya was merely being accused of planning to manufacture chemical weapons, but there was more than enough evidence that Iraq had already used them—with horrifying results.

As Julie Johnson had pointed out in *The New York Times* four months before the Mediterranean dogfight, Iraq had been accused of using mustard gas as early as 1984. Johnson wrote that the Iraqis had also used a "lethal nerve gas called Tabun, which prompts convulsions and foaming and bleeding at the mouth before death." The effects of Iraqi chemical warfare on the Kurdish minority had also been graphically described in a superb series in *The Christian Science Monitor* on the threat and spread of chemical and biological weapons, "Poison on the Wind," which ran December 13–16, just before the Libyan situation began to heat up. The series, which the *Monitor* accurately described as "one of the most ambitious projects ever undertaken" by that newspaper, was developed over a year's time by staff writers Gary Thatcher, Timothy Aeppel, Peter Grier, and George D. Moffett III. Citing Kurdish sources, the authors wrote that the chemical weapons "brought an agonizing, choking death to some 5,000 people—punishment for having sided with Iran during the long and bitter Gulf war."

Yet despite international revulsion at such warfare, the Reagan administration's record on Iraq had been ambiguous at best throughout most of the eight-year Gulf war, during which the United States was "tilting" toward Iraq in its conflict with Iran, the American nemesis. As early as 1984, the administration had charged Iraq with use of mustard gas, but backed off from pressing its case, arguing that the evidence was not clear on Iraqi production and use of chemical weapons. Finally, in September 1988, following a truce between the two countries that promised to contain the Iranian threat, it appeared that the United States had seen enough, and Iraq was criticized for its attacks on Kurdish civilians. Even as it excoriated Iraq in public, however, the administration argued with Congress that stiff sanctions should not be brought against Iraq but that an attempt should be made to isolate the Iraqis in

the world community. In large part because of the administration's efforts, Congress backed off the idea of tough sanctions and settled for a severe tongue-lashing instead.

Why sanctions against Iraq were not acceptable but bombing Libya might be was the question left unposed by all but two journalists, CNN's Gene Randall and R. Jeffrey Smith of *The Washington Post*. Their sense of history only serves to highlight the amnesia suffered by the rest of the press.

The Press Reviews "Top Gun"

By the time the aerial dogfight occurred, the national news media had helped create a climate of opinion in which the "Top Gun" drama of the whole affair overshadowed the substantive policy questions it raised. The tone was caught in the headline of *Newsweek*'s account: GOOD KILL! GOOD KILL! DISCIPLINED AND DARING, NAVY FIGHTER JOCKS COURT DANGER—AND THRILLS—IN THE ULTIMATE VIDEO GAME. Most major print media used elaborate diagrams of the dogfight based on Pentagon accounts, and all three networks simulated the encounter with animated graphics. Second-day broadcast coverage was dominated by dramatic audio- and videotapes recorded by the American fighter planes.

To the news media's credit, however, a number of considered judgments about the wisdom of the dogfight also surfaced, although they may have been lost on a public caught up in the military drama. *Newsweek*'s story on the SHOWDOWN WITH LIBYA that accompanied its dogfight report said that the "U.S. pilots [had] won an ambiguous victory" and argued that the "dogfight complicated U.S. efforts to cast Libya as an international outlaw on the eve of a multination Paris conference on chemical warfare." Robin Wright of the *Los Angeles Times* had a front-page story on January 5 revealing that Libya had been mounting secret overtures to the Reagan administration for the week preceding the engagement in an attempt to prevent a military confrontation. She also examined the possibility that Reagan might be baiting Qaddafi, and quoted several critics of the administration's version, including retired Admiral Gene LaRocque of the Center for Defense Information. In most other media, such sources as LaRocque were conspicuous by their absence.

The media did their best work on the question of why the military engagement had occurred in the first place. A wide range of reporters, commentators, and editorial writers cast a skeptical eye on the administration's claim that the affair was unrelated to the pressure it was applying over the chemical plant. Typical was R. W. Apple Jr.'s lead in *The New York Times*: "Although the United States asserted that today's clash between Libyan and American warplanes had 'no connection whatsoever' with a disputed Libyan chemical plant, that appears to be true only in the narrowest sense."

But as is often the case with a breaking news event such as this, within days the story had taken on its own rhythms and language, and one piece scanned very much like the next. In this respect, the vocabulary used by the administration and routinely passed on by journalists was reminiscent of the lexicon so favored by Vietnam-era officials, containing phrases such as "protective reaction" and "reconnaissance by fire." Several days of references to "surgical strikes" on Libya's chemical plant, or to the presumptive need to "take it out" led columnist Russell Baker of *The New York Times* to conclude on January 7, "When masses of news people start using the same Pentagon euphemisms, you can bet they are not inventing their own clichés but amplifying a melody the Government wants lodged in the public ear."

The Poor Man's Atom Bomb

By the time the 145-nation conference on chemical weapons began in Paris on the weekend following the shoot-down, journalists had started to pay greater attention to some of the larger contradictions in the Reagan record on chemical weapons. Still, the press tended to rely more on a perspective provided by the administration than on its own independent judgment. For example,

> The White House controlled the story. The result was a journalism of deference.

much use was made of the phrase "poor man's atom bomb" to describe chemical weapons, implying that the chemical weapons problem is one posed by Third World nations and the solution something other than a comprehensive chemical weapons ban involving all nations, great and small.

Indeed, conference coverage bore a striking resemblance to much First World discourse on the subject of nuclear proliferation, which often takes on a parent-child cast and suggests that the only real risk posed by nuclear weapons is that they may fall into irresponsible Third World hands. For instance, the subhead on a January 7 *New York Times* sidebar was headlined THE 'POOR MAN'S ATOMIC BOMB' IS DIFFICULT TO MONITOR, as if this were not the case with those of the major powers as well. At the risk of damning with faint praise, it should be noted that there were journalists, such as Jonathan C. Randall in the *Post* and James M. Markham in *The New York Times*, who pointed out that the conference was seriously undermined by cant and failure of political will in all quarters.

A particularly important analysis was published, unbylined, in the January 9 *Washington Post*, although it appeared to have no discernible impact on the rest of the national press. Filed from the United Nations in New York, the piece was the only one that traced the Reagan administration's record on chemical weapons within that international forum. The story began by pointing out that Secretary of State Shultz's call at the Paris conference for an "enhanced" role for the U.N.

secretary general in investigating charges of chemical weapons represented a substantial change of position by the United States. In June 1988, the story reported, the United States and France had rejected a British proposal for just such powers for the secretary general. Moreover, the article quoted diplomats to the effect that the United States has for reasons of political expediency put pressure on the secretary general at various times to "launch or hold off chemical weapons investigations" and that the United States had prevented Perez de Cuellar from investigating Iraq because of the American tilt during the Gulf war. None of this important history found its way into news accounts on a regular basis, and they were much the worse for it.

The Journalism of Deference

Also left unexplored by members of the press corps was the history of the story itself, something that could have cast considerable light on the meaning of the events they found themselves reporting. For example, *The New York Times* first reported administration allegations about the Libyan plant on December 24, 1987, but then nothing much was heard until September 1988, when the Reagan White House decided to put it back on the agenda after a nine-month hiatus. One close observer of the region, W. Seth Carus, a fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (who was also cited as a knowledgeable source by *The New York Times* and other publications), is particularly bothered that for months the press corps "failed utterly to follow up" on such matters as who was providing the technology for the plant. According to Carus, the West German connection was an open secret, but nobody bothered to check it out until early January 1989, when the *Times* reported on State Department allegations and the story gained momentum.

In fact, the timing was the White House's and the administration controlled the evolution of the story, leaving the press at a decided disadvantage. When the agenda-setting powers of the administration are combined with the news media's failure to establish the realpolitik of a story using their own resources, as happened throughout so much of the Libyan affair, the results are predictable, and the journalism deferential.

The Libyan clash, of course, came just as many Americans had concluded that peace in the cold war was at hand, at least where the Soviet Union is concerned. It may be useful to recall, therefore, that even as President John F. Kennedy negotiated the nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviet Union in 1963, the United States was boldly beginning its long march into the Vietnam morass. For journalists, this historical reality means that there is every reason to be doubly vigilant when official Washington turns its attentions to the Third World.

Moreover, whatever improvement occurred in the coverage of this particular Third World story, the fact remains that it came too late. Crises like this one, stories where war and peace hang in the balance, make their impact on the public in the first few days or hours and then fade rapidly from view. In an era when vast force can be brought into play within minutes, the news media can no longer be content with a learning curve that stretches over weeks or even months. Journalists must hold themselves to a higher standard—and because the chemical weapons issue is among the top priorities of the Bush administration, they may again be presented with the opportunity to try. □

DEADLINE
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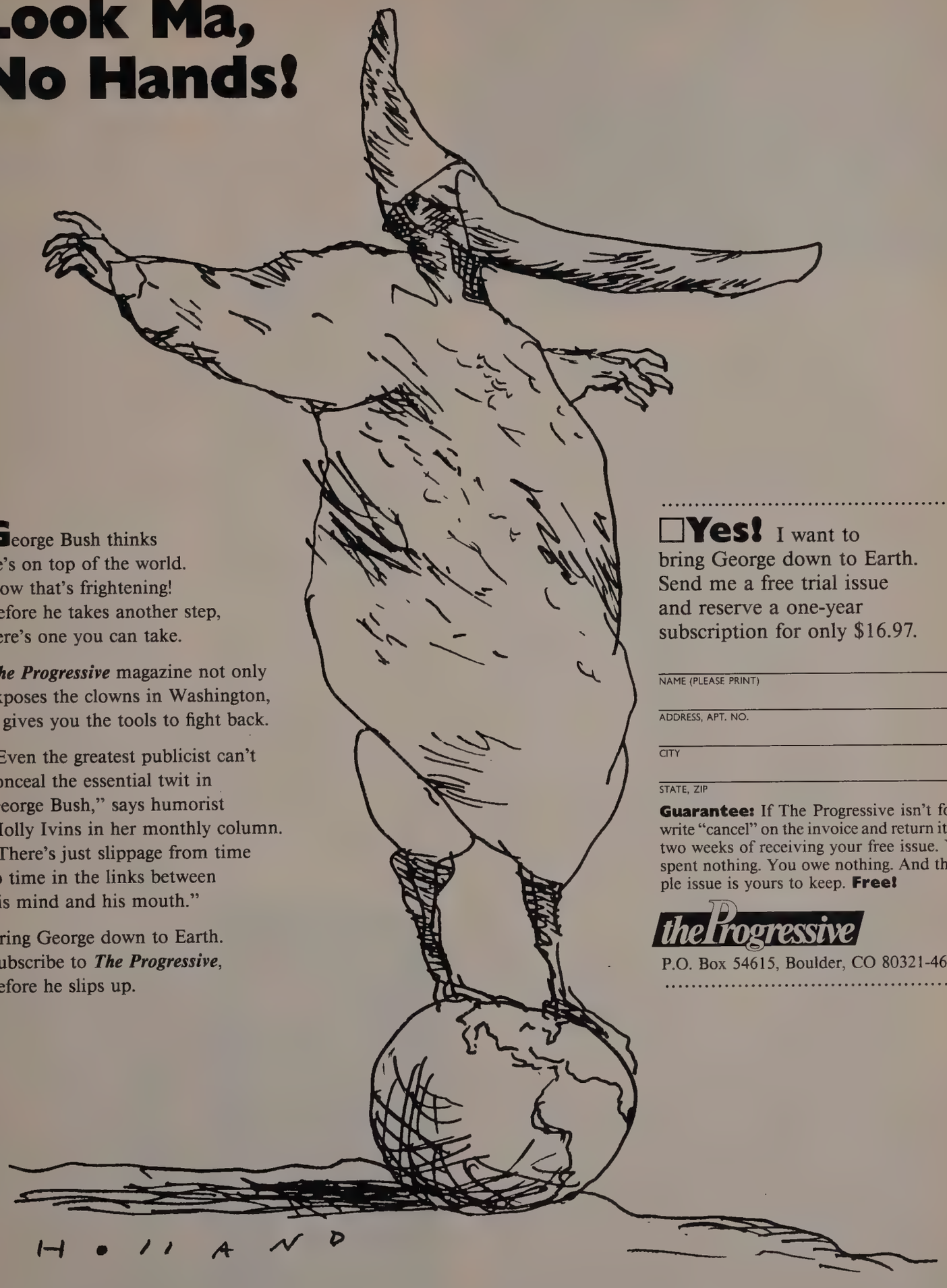
Look Ma, No Hands!



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he's on top of the world.
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Members of APT protesting at the Nevada Test Site

groups, to facilitate regionally-based resistance communities. Finally, this is a time of great creativity and change within the nonviolence community. The APT will contribute to this evolutionary process through discussions, writing and workshops.

Whatever the Gorbachev initiative and the new Bush administration may offer, concrete changes will be brought about through the persistent and courageous efforts of large numbers of ordinary people. In 1989 the APT will continue efforts to empower as many folks as possible to wage peace boldly. *Nancy Heskett*
Eastern Field Organizer
Roy Morrison
Special Projects Coordinator

APT, Box 26725, Las Vegas, NV 89126, (702) 731-9644.

SANE/FREEZE

Grassroots mandate

As a grassroots organization, we at SANE/FREEZE take our mandate from local members and affiliates. At our second national congress, held in December in Atlanta, more than 600 members and chapter leaders gathered to debate and vote on priorities for 1989. The results:

■ Organizing for a "peace economy" will be the principal program for the year. With a focus on NATO's 40th anniversary, we will begin work in the following areas: SANE/FREEZE will demand a cut in military spending (not just a freeze) and a redirection of federal funds to meet human needs. We will join with other groups and actively press Congress to enact legislation mandating economic conversion. The proposed Defense Economic Adjustment Act, which SANE/FREEZE supports, would create alternative use committees at major military facilities and provide adjustment benefits for workers and communities now dependent on defense industries.

Beginning on tax day, April 15, we will sponsor citizen hearings on the need for reordered budget priorities. These will be followed in the fall with "local accountability" hearings, in which peace activists working with the leaders of domestic service constituencies—trade union officers, senior citizen leaders, local elected officials and others—will testify before their congressional representatives on unmet domestic social needs and the need for reduced military spending. Through these "peace economy" activities, we will build a broad coalition for reordered budget priorities and economic conversion.

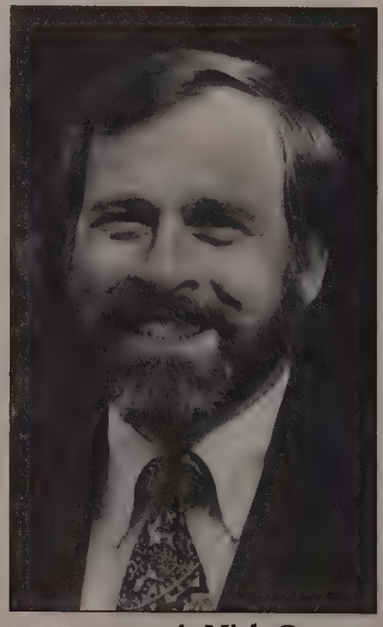
■ SANE/FREEZE also plans to sponsor national and local programs to keep the DOE nuclear weapons facilities shut and begin a major environmental cleanup of these contaminated sites. We believe there is no need for any additional production of nuclear weapons materials, and that we should aim towards arms reduction and disarmament rather than continued weapons production.

The first activity in this program will be a DOE Lobby Day in Washington, D.C., on April 3 and 4, sponsored by the Military Production Network, a coalition of disarmament and environmental groups including SANE/FREEZE.

■ In keeping with our continuing pursuit of a comprehensive test ban, SANE/FREEZE will also support the American Peace Test nonviolent mass action scheduled at the Nevada Test Site April 7-16. Thousands of SANE/FREEZE members and other supporters will continue the campaign of demonstrations and nonviolent resistance in Nevada. We will also continue our work with the International Comprehensive Test Ban Campaign to support legislation and other policy initiatives that seek a complete halt to nuclear testing.

The new year is a time of great potential as we continue to mobilize citizen pressure for reduced military spending, an end to the production of nuclear weapons materials and a nuclear test ban. *Nick Carter*
Executive Director

SANE/FREEZE, 712 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-7100.



SANE/FREEZE's Nick Carter

WRL

War toys & war taxes

The War Resisters League regrets the election of a former CIA director as president. But regardless of the winner, there is not enough difference between the two major parties for us to make a dramatic shift in direction.

The remarkable changes in the Soviet Union and in Soviet foreign policy are more important for our work. Because of the Gorbachev initiatives, we will pay more attention to the United Nations and strengthen our contacts with the European peace movements, East and West, official and unofficial, to demand that NATO use his proposals as the basis for major cuts in conventional weapons in Western Europe. We hope this is but the first step toward the dissolution of both the NATO and the Warsaw Pact military alliances.

What worries us deeply is that the sense of detente can lead people to forget that the machinery of nuclear and conventional war remains in place. Historically, WRL has not been content to wait for national leaders to bring peace. We intend to use this new period of detente to urge sharp cuts in the U.S. military budget, including military aid to Israel and other Middle Eastern nations, Central America and elsewhere.

Since WRL opposes not only war, but the causes of war, our work reflects a wide range of interests. Some of the major areas WRL will be working in during the coming year include:

■ Stop War Toys Campaign: a WRL project that serves as a national network and clearinghouse for activists concerned about the sale of violent toys for children. The campaign circulates petitions, distributes flyers to parents, provides speakers for public meetings and TV and radio shows, and sells a modestly priced packet of information on war toys.

■ War Tax Resistance: to edu-

APT PHOTO BY © DEBBIE DIXON 1988

cate people on how their tax dollars are being spent. We are publishing a manual that explains how to redirect (legally and illegally) income taxes from the military toward socially beneficial causes.

■ Resist Third World War campaign: to highlight the connection between conventional- and nuclear-war planning and weapons systems, focusing attention on the many wars the United States is involved in that get little or no attention in this country.

■ Draft Counter-recruitment: to reach out and involve young people in our work. The centerpiece of this effort is *SPEW*, a magazine by and for high school students, with articles on ecology, nonviolence, racism and Third World liberation movements. WRL will also provide young people with alternative information on military enlistment.

■ Promote nonviolence: to further one of WRL's major objectives as a secular pacifist organization. We provide training for national and smaller civil disobedience actions. WRL also publishes a highly respected organizers manual and is producing a nonviolence handbook for use in small- and medium-size actions. In addition, WRL is compiling a national directory of nonviolence trainers. *David McReynolds*

WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 228-0450.

David McReynolds of WRL

AFSC

Building a movement

Two important developments will shape the American Friends Service Committee's work on disarmament and East-West issues in 1989. The first is the remarkable process of radical change in the Soviet Union. The second development is here at home, where conservatives are formulating a new rationale for preserving U.S. power in the Third World to supplant the waning anti-Soviet Cold War ideology. They are now promoting "low-intensity conflict," covert action and "anti-terrorist strikes" as the answer to perceived instabilities, local liberation struggles, drug trafficking and terrorism.

Our work is also guided by several domestic political imperatives: the necessity of building a strong grassroots movement that unites progressive communities across racial, ethnic, nationality, gender and class lines; the need for more work on issues of peace and independence in the East Asia-Pacific region; and the importance of developing a new approach to global security.

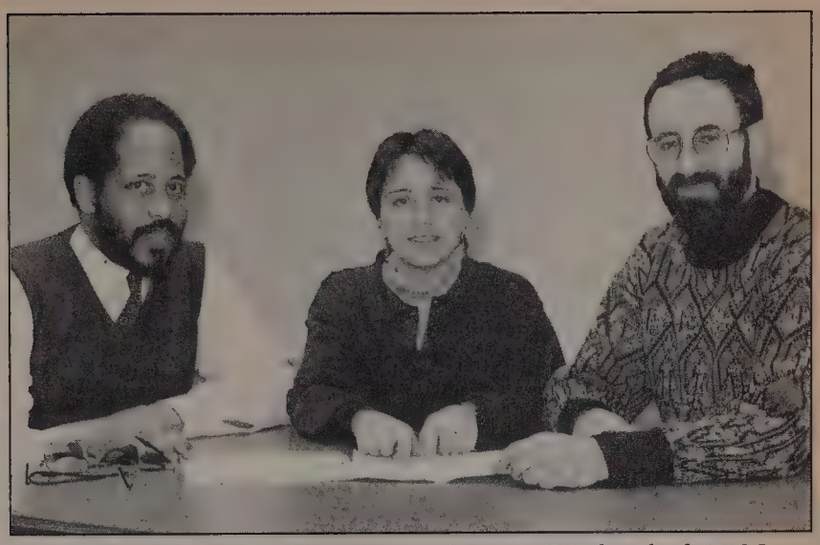
As AFSC moves toward a broader emphasis on U.S. foreign policies, it is initiating a campaign to build domestic support for movements to remove U.S. (and Soviet) bases from nations in the Pacific, Europe and the Third World. As a part of this campaign, AFSC will sponsor a speaking tour entitled "Voices of Hope and Anger: Women Speak Out for Sovereignty and Self-Determination." Starting in April, the tour will feature eight women from the Philippines, Okinawa, Honduras, Puerto Rico, West Germany, South Korea and the United States, who will describe the effects of a large U.S. military presence on their countries. Next year AFSC plans to publish a book on foreign military bases.

Our East-West Program complements this project. Its staff has organized three seminars for U.S. Third World peace and justice activists on the connections between the East-West and North-South conflicts. In April, the program will sponsor an exchange between experts from the United States, the Soviet Union and several African nations on the impact of the two superpowers' policies on African conflicts. Soviet participants will then meet with faculty and students at several black colleges in the American South.

In our extensive work with European peace movements we have also found a strong common interest in working for the withdrawal of all foreign military forces from both Eastern and Western Europe.

In all of our work we are struggling to build a movement that unites black, Latino, Asian, Pacific and Native American activists and organizations with those of the largely white, middle-class peace movement. And through the speaking tour, we are trying to develop stronger bonds with feminists and women's organizations. Such a united movement is necessary to reverse the militarization of our society and the world, and build peace and security on a solid foundation of justice and freedom. *Bruce Birchard*
Michael Simmons
Chris Wing

AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7169.



Michael Simmons, Chris Wing and Bruce Birchard of AFSC

GREENPEACE

Stop the tests; free the seas

Greenpeace expects the disarmament talks that began with Reagan and Gorbachev to continue under the leadership of Gorbachev and Bush. But it is not clear in which directions real change will occur. Talks on conventional forces and chemical weapons are important and should be supported. But initiatives must be brought to fruition on the nuclear weapons front as well.

We are concerned that momentum on this front has been sidetracked by the outgoing administration's intransigence on ending nuclear testing. Discussions have been based on ratifying old treaties (the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty) that limit tests to a ceiling of 150 kilotons, or on the exchange of technical information during nuclear tests. But the United States has thwarted progress toward a comprehensive test ban. The CTB is a top priority for Greenpeace; it is a simple yet significant step towards halting the spiraling arms race.

In the United States we will be working with a coalition of groups to get Congress to renew efforts for a CTB, enacting legislation that urges President Bush to resume negotiations and to initiate a bilateral testing moratorium during the talks.

LETTER FROM EUROPE

New nukes is bad nukes

For Western Europe's peace movements, Gorbachev's U.N. speech read in places like a catalogue of demands we have been making during the 1980s: plans for economic conversion from arms production to socially useful goods; a readiness for an "open and intense political dialogue . . . constructive ideas instead of recriminations"; an emphasis on the Helsinki process linking security, economic and human rights concerns in Europe; and a demand for a strengthened United Nations to tackle global problems.

Indeed, leading Soviet commentators have stressed that many elements of the "new thinking" stem from the peace movement. In the early 1980s, Gorbachev's predecessors argued bitterly against Western peace activists' claims that the Soviets bore at least some responsibility for the arms race and should disarm along with the United States. The most significant element of Gorbachev's speech for the European peace movements was his announcement of unilateral cuts in Soviet conventional forces and troop withdrawals from Eastern Europe.

At the same time, the Soviet cutbacks put the spotlight on NATO's plans for nuclear "modernization," to compensate for weapons eliminated under the INF Treaty. European governments fear Gorbachev's initiatives will further weaken the already-reduced public support for new nuclear weapons. This is especially true in West Germany, where new short-range missiles would be deployed—and where the saying goes, "the shorter the range, the deader the Germans."

NATO defense ministers meeting in Brussels in late April are expected to ratify plans to deploy more air-launched nuclear weapons and short-range missiles. The Belgian peace movement is planning a three-month campaign to mobilize public opinion against the deployments.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's proposal for a "third zero" option—to remove tactical nuclear weapons from Europe—echoes what has been a central demand of the Belgian peace movement since INF. Luc Deliens, of the Flemish Platform Against Nuclear Weapons, says this and other Soviet initiatives improve the chances of winning the Belgian government over to the peace movement's side. Already, the Socialists in government have called for an outright veto of NATO modernization; their coalition partners, the Christian Democrats, are resisting any endorsement of new weapons.

Even in Britain, a Gallup poll taken by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament shows nearly three-quarters of Conservative voters prefer further reductions in nuclear weapons, even though Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is modernization's staunchest supporter.

Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* are also helping to reduce Western Europeans' sense of the Soviet "threat" by allaying fears of totalitarianism. And if the Cold War is over, as Thatcher herself said in Washington, D.C., last year, it becomes even more difficult to win public support for a further round in the nuclear arms race.

—Stephen Brown

Stephen Brown is international secretary of Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

As of this writing, we have collected more than 100,000 signatures on a petition toward this end. We will support the upcoming U.N. conference to amend the Limited Test Ban Treaty to make it comprehensive—an initiative supported by 127 U.N. members. In addition, we will begin activities to draw attention to the 1990 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Conference (as part of its 1968 NPT commitments, the United States promised to negotiate a CTB).

Internationally, Greenpeace will continue to draw attention to nuclear testing in the Soviet Union, Muroroa and Fangataufa atolls, and China. Our new ship, the Rainbow Warrior II, will be sailing into the South Pacific to continue protests against French nuclear testing.

As part of our continuing Nuclear Free Seas activities, two Greenpeace ships will be visiting ports on both U.S. coasts, making public presentations that explain the arms race at sea and the role of local naval bases and vessels in the U.S. Navy's nuclear war-fighting strategy.

With START stalled over the United States' unwillingness to negotiate on sea-launched cruise missiles, we will play an active part in this debate—in Congress, with direct action and through grassroots pressure. In addition, Greenpeace will try to get Congress to introduce legislation to eliminate all tactical nuclear weapons at sea.

Greenpeace will also continue its campaign to stop the production of nuclear weapons materials. Internationally, we will be working with The Plutonium Challenge initiative, an attempt to get all countries with nuclear weapons (particularly the United States and the Soviet Union) to stop such production. In the United States, we will sponsor petition drives and letter-writing campaigns urging Congress to end the production of nuclear weapons materials and to divert funds to the cleanup of existing Department of Energy facilities.

Peter Bahouth of Greenpeace

Greenpeace, along with other groups, is currently a plaintiff in a law suit filed last year against DOE to keep the nuclear reactors at the Savannah River nuclear materials plant shut down pending a complete safety review and completion of an environmental impact statement. Greenpeace will join other efforts by local groups who are organizing around DOE facilities out of concern over disarmament, environmental pollution and public health.

Peter Bahouth
Executive Director

Greenpeace, 1436 U St. NW, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 462-1177.

ESR

Teaching for a better world

As educators looking not to the next administration, but to the next *generation*, Educators for Social Responsibility's goal remains relatively constant: to teach young people in a way that develops their social consciousness and enhances their abilities to make the world a better place.

Still, the national and international environments in which we do this strongly affects our work. As the East-West compe-

PHOTO OF BAHOUTH BY © KAREN HIRSCH 1988

tition winds down, for example, ESR is finding increased acceptance of its goal of teaching about the Soviet Union and superpower conflict. And with recent signs of peace "breaking out" around the world, ESR can enlarge its scope beyond nuclear issues to include a host of other critical concerns: ecological dangers, apartheid, drug trafficking and regional conflicts.

In 1989, ESR will initiate a National Conflict Resolution Program to survey what conflict resolution programs are currently underway in schools around the country, to study the pedagogical problems in the field and to determine how best to integrate conflict resolution into existing curricula.

Our Teacher-Veteran Partnership Program is a three-way collaboration among ESR, the Vietnam Veterans of America and the Center for Social Studies Education. The project aims to expand the scope of and improve teaching about the Vietnam War in schools across the country.

Our Economics and Social Responsibility Project will help students become more aware of the social issues raised by economic policy and of their own roles as consumers, workers and producers—and as future voters and investors. The Council for Economic Priorities has joined the project's working group; we are soliciting additional collaborators and funders.

Susan Alexander of ESR

In Portland, Oregon, and in the greater Boston area, school districts are joining efforts to infuse education about nuclear, peace and conflict studies in all grades as part of ESR's Educating for Living in a Nuclear Age project. A three-day conference in Boston in March will showcase materials and approaches developed by classroom teachers in the program.

New publications for 1989 from our Controversy Series will examine the role of covert action in a democracy, along with drug trafficking, anti-communism, and student rights and the Constitution. In a collaborative effort with the Nobel Prize Committee, we are also producing teaching guides to accompany "videographies" of Nobel Peace Prize winners.

Finally, ESR will focus on teacher education seminars for using our new Soviet curriculum and new audio-visual materials. We will also hold our second joint institute with Soviet educators, "Teaching for Critical Thinking in the Nuclear Age," in Leningrad.

Susan Alexander
Executive Director

ESR, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 492-1764.

NRDC

Too much is enough

As an environmental organization, the Natural Resources Defense Council has been actively concerned for many years about the health and environmental hazards posed by the Department of Energy's complex of nuclear warhead production facilities. Today, none of DOE's nuclear weapons production reactors are operating, and the total cost of cleaning up and renovating the complex is estimated at more than $100 billion.

One of our main goals in 1989 is to compel the government to fundamentally re-examine the nuclear weapons production complex and its future. We will be responding to efforts by some to rush ahead with the restart of unsafe existing reactors and to authorize the construction of five new ones proposed by DOE. Specifically, NRDC will target the agency's plan to build the Special Isotope Separator plutonium refinery in Idaho—a $1 billion pork-barrel project at a time when former Energy Secretary John Herrington says the nation is "awash in plutonium" [see *Nuclear Times*' cover story, July/August 1988].

S. Jacob Scherr (left) and Thomas B. Cochran of NRDC

In cooperation with other organizations, NRDC is also seeking to foster a dialogue between U.S. and Soviet scientists on environmental dangers posed by the two superpowers' nuclear bomb-making enterprises. Although little is known about the Soviets' nuclear weapons production, there are indications they are also operating old, outmoded production reactors. We have set forth our objectives in The Plutonium Challenge, issued in late 1987 by a coalition of arms control and environmental groups and more than 30 distinguished scientists and experts. Already possessing vast stockpiles of plutonium and highly enriched uranium, the United States and the Soviet Union should agree to cut off fissile material production.

At the same time, we must not lose the momentum towards ending nuclear testing. Under the auspices of our Verification Project, NRDC and the Soviet Academy of Sciences have jointly operated sophisticated seismic stations in each other's countries and have established seismic verification networks. This scientific cooperation, in its third year, should allow the Bush administration to make rapid progress in phasing out nuclear testing, or set the stage for Congress—if pushed by a concerned American public—to legislate a low-threshold moratorium as a first step toward a comprehensive test ban.

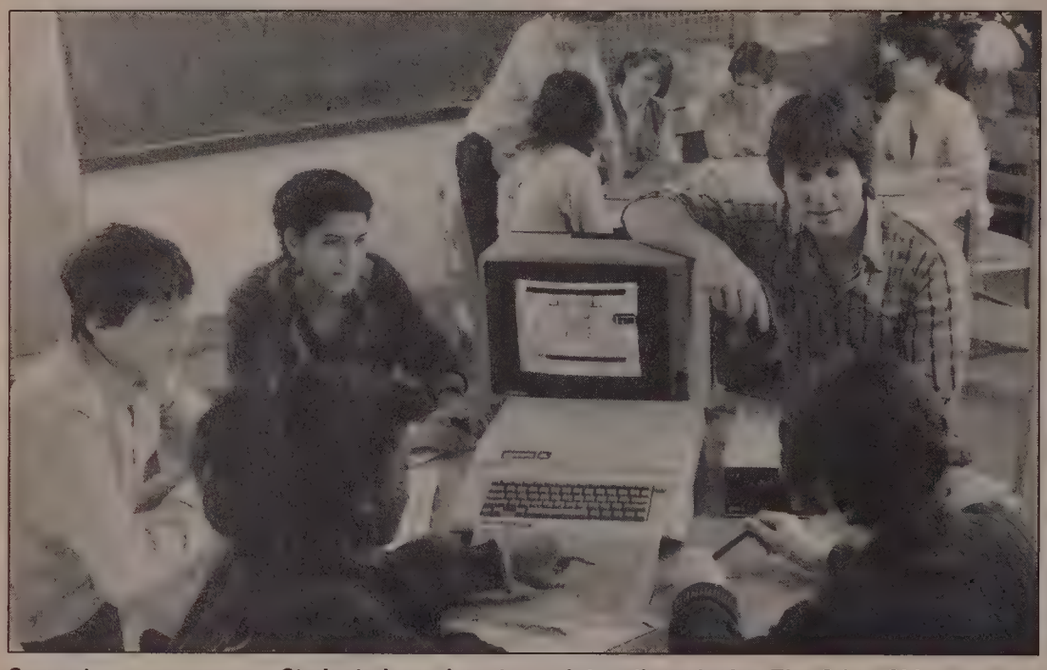
Sustained pressure and research in recent years has produced a wealth of information on the superpowers' arsenals—data that has been essential to public participation in these critical policy choices. Now, with the "new thinking" in the Soviet Union, NRDC and thousands of other Americans are creating new channels for scientist-to-scientist and citizen-to-citizen cooperation. If we stay on course, the prospects for arms control breakthroughs and reductions in the 1990s are bright; informed citizen pressure can make it happen. NRDC looks forward to working with other concerned organizations and individuals in the years ahead. *S. Jacob Scherr*
Thomas B. Cochran
Co-Directors
Nuclear Program

NRDC, 1350 New York Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20005, (202) 783-7800.

IDEAS THAT WORK/J. PETER NIXON

GAMES PEACENIKS PLAY

ADULTS AND CHILDREN ALIKE CAN LEARN COOPERATION AND NEGOTIATING SKILLS FROM NEW "PEACE" GAMES



Computer peace games: Students learn how to work together playing The Other Side.

The games people play reflect the culture in which they were invented. The centuries-old game of chess, for example, with its militaristic theme and elaborate hierarchy, was the product of feudal society. Likewise, many modern-era games, such as Monopoly, embody the competitive, acquisitive nature of Western capitalism.

But there are contrasting contemporary values, such as cooperation and interdependence, that find expression in alternative, intellectually challenging games. Unfortunately these games are difficult to find, but the ones reviewed below fit the bill. Four of them can be played in the comfort of your living room, and one can be played in the comfort of your local gym.

The World Game. Designed by architect and futurist Buckminster Fuller in 1967, the World Game (price varies, World Game Projects, University City Science Center, 3508 Market St., Philadelphia, PA 19104, (215) 387-0220) offers a challenging, large-scale alternative to competitive and violent games.

The centerpiece of the game is the "Big Map" of the world. And big it is: half the size of a basketball court. As many as 100 players, each representing 50 to 60 million people, sit on the map in their assigned geographical location. Their goal is to meet the food, housing, health care, energy and education needs of their region. Game facilitators provide players with United Nations data on the issues confronting them; then they have to make the hard choices: should they develop literacy programs for the long run or food programs for more immediate needs?

I played the World Game last July at the University of Maryland's Baltimore campus gym. With more than 80 people rushing around the map, trading energy for food and education for medicine, it reminded me of the floor of the New York Stock Exchange. At times players seemed to act out of desperation. When wealthy nations refused to deal fairly with poorer nations, for example, they very often found themselves faced with war, as players resorted to stealing what they could not afford.

At the end of the game, we were confronted by another reminder of the challenges facing the world. Game facilitators scattered 50,000 plastic discs, each symbolizing a nuclear explosion, across the map. The near-coverage of the map provided a chilling demonstration of one possible future.

Fortunately, the game ended on a more positive note. We tried to envision an alternative future by making a list of things that would make the world a better place, such as health care for all, an end to hunger and disease, and an emphasis on diplomacy rather than the use of military force in international relations.

Wildfire II. If you can't round up 100 close friends to play the World Game, you might try Wildfire II ($29.95, Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies, 316 Pennsylvania Ave. SE, #500, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 547-7227). Its designers call Wildfire a "policy role play"—a game designed to teach players how domestic and foreign policies are made and how citizens can play a more significant role. It requires at least 20 players, so it is more appropriate for classrooms or community groups than for families.

The game's scenario could happen today. India and Pakistan, for the fourth time in their 40-year history, are on the brink of war. Pakistan, responding to India's development of nuclear weapons, has developed weapons of its own and is planning to detonate one as a "demonstration" for India. Teams representing Pakistan, India, China, the United States and the Soviet Union must decide how to bring the crisis to a peaceful resolution. Players then move from crisis resolution to negotiating an arms control agreement in South Asia.

Give Peace a Chance. Give Peace a Chance ($23.50, Peace Works, 3812 North First St., Fresno, CA 97326, (209) 435-8092) will appeal to families because it's educational and easy to play—and it was designed by Michelle Alexander, a 10-year-old American girl.

Two to four individuals or teams choose to be one of 170 countries and take that country's flag as their playing piece. Players are rewarded for peacemaking actions, such as creating nuclear-free zones, setting up citizen exchanges, or holding disarmament talks. Players can be penalized for invading other countries, having a poor human rights record, or breaking off negotiations. The best peacemaker wins.

Since its initial release, Give Peace a Chance has been played by children and adults around the world, and has been recently translated into Russian. Michelle has played the game with former Soviet President Andrei Gromyko and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. In her promotional

tour media appearances she stresses that "what we do as kids for peace today, matters for us as adults tomorrow."

Star Peace. A game similar to Michelle Alexander's is Star Peace ($13.95, Ungame, 761 Monroe Way, Placentia, CA 92670, (714) 993-9800), which was designed by Ralph Anspach, the San Francisco State University economics professor who invented Anti-Monopoly I and II. Players compete to see who can be first to reach the "world free of nuclear arms" square. But competitive play can backfire, since it increases the risk of nuclear war.

Like Give Peace a Chance, Star Peace demands negotiating skills. Players landing on a "crisis" space must maneuver out of a nuclear confrontation by negotiating with the player next to them. That player has the option of either agreeing to negotiate, or advancing his or her own position by refusing to negotiate. But advancing your own position at the expense of others increases the risk of a nuclear war, which ends the game for everyone.

Players also must rid the world of three arms monopolies before the game can be won. The first player to reach the world-free-of-nuclear-arms square after all the monopolies are broken wins the game.

The Other Side. Peace games have also gone high tech. The Other Side ($69.95 for individuals, lab package for schools, $210; Tom Snyder Productions, 90 Sherman St., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 876-4433) is a computer game featuring two hypothetical countries attempting to meet their needs in a world of limited resources.

The countries' task is to build a bridge across a chasm separating them. Players make bricks for the bridge by combining their natural resources in various ways. But each country has only some of the resources it needs, so it must trade with the other to compensate. Thus, it quickly becomes apparent to players that international relations are not a zero-sum game.

The game can be played on a single computer, or on two computers linked by a modem. The second option allows for more realistic play, as players come to understand their opponents by negotiating with them. During the November 1985 Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Geneva, NBC's *Today* show featured students in Boston and Geneva playing the game using a modem. U.S. and Soviet students, connected by phone lines, have also played in recent years, building bridges both figuratively and literally. □

J. Peter Nixon is associate for American affairs of the British American Security Information Council.

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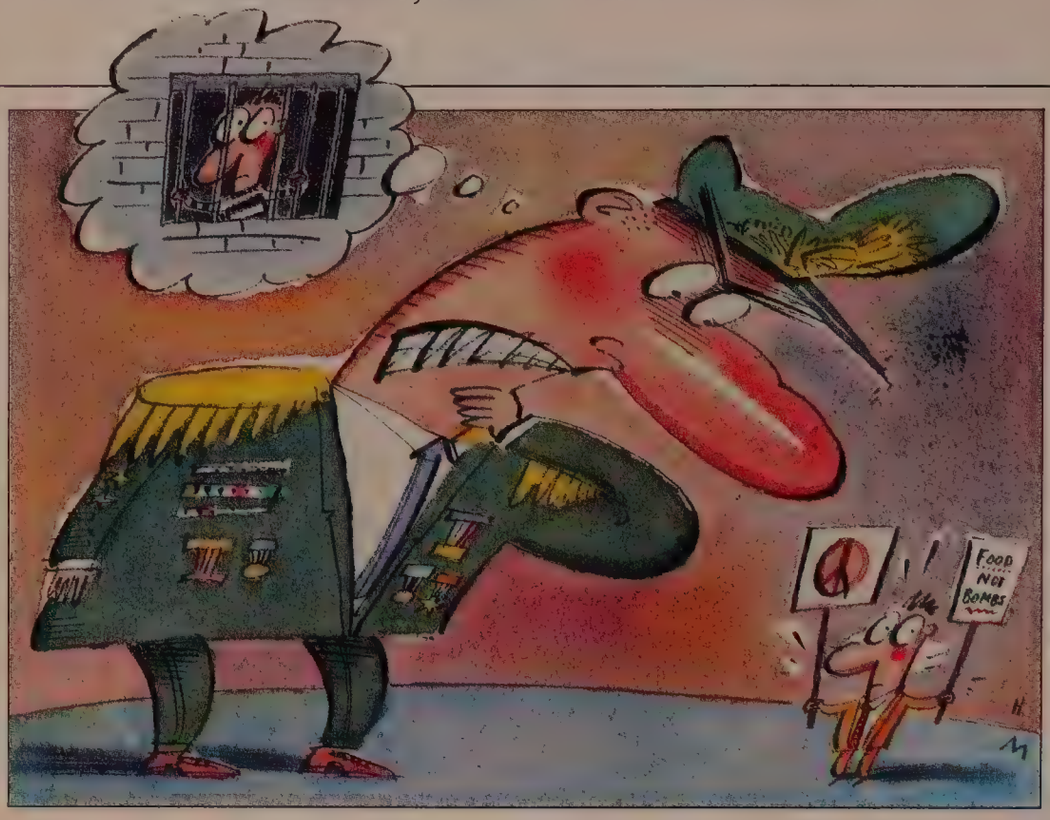
HOW 'THEY' SEE 'US'

THE MILITARY VIEWS PEACE ACTIVISTS AS A BUNCH OF CRUSADERS, CRIMINALS AND CRAZIES



On September 1, 1987, a U.S. Navy locomotive ran over Brian Willson, leader of a group of protesters who were blocking the railroad tracks outside the Concord Naval Weapons Station in California. The train, operated by civilian Navy employees, hit Willson when he failed to move off the tracks, fracturing his skull and severing his legs.

The House Armed Services Committee concluded after an investigation that the accident had resulted "from an overabundance of trust on the part of all concerned": the protesters standing on the tracks believed the oncoming train would stop; the train crew believed that the protesters would move. But this game of chicken seems more indicative of a mutual lack of understanding—the wide gulf between the military establishment and its civilian critics that has both sides thinking in terms of "us" versus "them, with little idea of what makes the other side tick.

For its part, however, the military has made some effort to understand its critics. This has been seen as necessary in recent years, whether to deal with growing local opposition to nuclear weapons in the early 1980s, or more recently, to mobilize public support for military spending at a time of budget crunches and improving U.S.-Soviet relations.

The results of these efforts, as revealed in writings and through recent interviews, show attitudes that are biased by the nature of the military itself: its purpose in "understanding" the peace movement has been to learn how better to fight it.

"Crusaders, Criminals and Crazies." Every activist in the country is familiar with the litany of derogatory adjectives used to describe them: naive, misguided, emotional, irresponsible, anti-American—just for starters. Typical of military literature on the subject is the Army's 1983 training manual, *Countering Terrorism on U.S. Army Installations*, which specifies three types of radical activists: "crusaders, criminals and crazies."

Elsewhere, peace movement activists are frequently characterized as floundering fools—crazies in the weird, disjointed sense. A 1983 study by the conservative Hudson Institute for the Department of Defense (DOD) categorizes anti-nuclear activists as either "protected"—"those who actually believe that unilateral sweetheart actions will bring like responses"—or "naifs"—"those who believe simple-minded 'peace' slogans." The study's author, B. Bruce-Briggs, refers to these activists as "silly riffraff." Dale Smith, a retired Air Force major and author of *The Eagle's Talons: A Military View of Civil Control of the Military*, prefers the term "starry-eyed idealists." In a March 1983 editorial, the *Santa Maria Times*, which serves California's Vandenberg Air Force Base, calls anti-nuclear activists simply "anti-whatevers."

While these analysts are largely dismissive, others stress that it is a serious mistake to underestimate the "excessively or persistently optimistic" viewpoint. "Peacekeeping by wishful thinking" can be subversive, or at best, "dangerously counterproductive," explains James H. Toner, in the September 1987 issue of *Parameters*, the official military journal published by the U.S. Army War College. "Confronted by a popular mythology which often suggests that peace is available virtually for the asking, leaders, sycophantic and saccharine, truckle to Pollyannas in endorsing schemes which sometimes, in their simplicity, may undermine rather than support the structures of peace."

Soviet Tools. At the opposite extreme from irrelevant crazies is, according to the Hudson Institute, a more sinister group: the outright "leftists," "deviants" and "nihilists." These supposedly disaffected activists are seen as the genuine subversives in the peace cause—not least because they are believed to serve as intentional or unwitting agents of Soviet propaganda.

Alleged Soviet manipulation and disinformation of peace groups seems a given for military and right-wing civilian political analysts. In the September 1988 issue of *Army* magazine, Gen. John R. Galvin, commander of U.S. forces in Europe, attributes opposition from the European and U.S. peace movements to "the Soviet effort to prevent deployment of the Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles." In an October 1982 column for *The Washington Times*, Patrick Buchanan, former Reagan White House communications director, wrote, "Anyone who cannot see the hand of Moscow and the ugly faces of its odious little affiliates inside the 'peace movement' in Europe and the 'freeze movement' in the United States is simply not looking." There seems to be some disagreement, however, over whether the peace movement is subordinate to, or merely manipulated by, the Soviet Union.

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when asked in off-the-record interviews about the alleged Soviet link, several Pentagon officers took great care to assure that they don't believe the Soviets actually "run the show," but that they understandably take an interest in it.

Activism and Terrorism. Military analysts reserve a special category for peace activists who engage in civil disobedience and direct action. These "anti-nuclear extremists," in the words of a February 1982 RAND Corporation report, *The Appeal of Nuclear Crimes to the Spectrum of Potential Adversaries*, represent a special threat. The report describes such activists as "individuals or groups so committed in their opposition to nuclear programs that they would be willing to undertake criminal actions to further their cause." A 1980 RAND memorandum lists "possible" crimes that could be committed by these "extremists" as including "low-level standoff attack," "theft or purchase of information," and taking and holding hostages.

The absence of such crimes in any instances of direct action has not stopped military observers from perfunctorily equating the criminality of civil disobedience with terrorism. Analyzing Nuclear Regulatory Commission data, the Army's counterterrorism manual lists "extremist protest groups" in the category of terrorists motivated by politics and ideology.

Similarly, Lt. Col. David Linn of the Office of Security Police, writing in the August 1985 *USAF Security Police Digest*, describes what he calls the "soft-core terrorism" practiced by Western European activists targeting NATO. "Militant protesters vandalizing road signs which direct forces on military maneuvers or cementing demolition shafts can easily springboard to acts of hard-core terrorism such as firebombing vehicles and bombing pipelines or communication sites."

Crusaders. While crazies can be dismissed, and "countermeasures" can be taken against criminals, the military is less sure of what to do with a third type of activist, the "rank and file" of the movement: students, professionals, housewives, retirees and environmentalists. As described in the Hudson Institute study, these are "the concerned," those who "recognize the great problem of nuclear war and have been sold programs that *appear* to deal with it" (emphasis added).

These "crusaders" are generally viewed as well-intentioned, reasonable and law-abiding. Several Washington-based Pentagon officers we spoke with went so far as to acknowledge a positive role of what they call the "public-interest" community—a group most peace activists would consider themselves to be part of.

Yet for others in the military, it is precisely this group's success that is most alarming. Citing anti-nuclear activists' ability to draw media attention and embarrass the armed services, and the way they "negatively shape U.S. defense policies," the Hudson Institute concluded that "the concerned are those at whom a counter-disarmament campaign can be directed."

Dealing with Activists. Not everyone in the military holds extremist views of anti-nuclear activists, and the military's negativism about peace activists has to some extent ebbed and flowed with the movement's own growth and decline. In the heyday of the Freeze, for example, some—particularly high-level officers—voiced positive and respectful views of the movement and its participants. In a January 1983 interview with *National Guard* magazine, Gen. John W. Vessey, Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said, "Those people arguing for a freeze now have their hearts in the right place. But their logic is flawed." General David C. Jones, Vessey's predecessor, asserted in the official DOD publication, *Defense 82*, that "this movement cannot be dismissed as the emanations of a fringe element—it is drawing increasing numbers of very serious-minded concerned citizens."

But in spite of such respectful attitudes on the part of high-level officers, the rank and file of the military—particularly those responsible for physical security and public relations—generally have held more negative attitudes. And because it is precisely these functionaries who have been assigned the task of "interfacing" with anti-nuclear activists, the military has in a way codified their more extremist views.

In turn, such attitudes are reinforced by the mandate the military has assigned its public affairs and security programs. Rather than emphasize direct debate with critics, the military defines these programs' mission as "confrontation management"—containing the visibility and effectiveness of protesters. The approach means that the military deliberately limits its interaction with questioning citizens. Officers who have contact with an unfriendly public are directed to forego discussions about policy. During the deployment of MX missiles, for instance, Maj. Michael C. McMullin, the official Air Force public liaison for Nebraska and Wyoming, flatly ruled that "blue-suiters [Air Force officers] would not enter into a debate, nor share the same platform with someone representing the opposition, i.e., an 'anti-MX' group." Further, the major noted in his 1987 thesis for the Air Command and Staff College that "we did not recognize these types of groups

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[the MX opposition] as civic groups; therefore, we would not accept speaking requests from them."

In an article entitled "Participatory Democracy: Challenge to Readiness" in the June 1986 issue of *Army*, Milton H. Mater, a retired Army colonel, and Dr. Jean Mater discuss "organized civilian efforts to halt, delay or change military projects." The authors write that, today, peace activists' "battle arenas are the public hearing or public meeting and the courtroom. Their weapons are grassroots groups, coalitions, media-bait slogans, letters to the editor .... While adversaries play the game of power politics, the Army plays a different game, based on rationality, attempting to resolve the conflict by carefully explaining technology and military requirements."

The Maters' article, although extremist in tone, reveals a subtler, but more fundamental bias that widens the gap between the military and the peace movement. Hiding behind claims of impartiality and rationality—and the declared political neutrality of the armed forces—the military not only excuses itself from real contact with citizens, it intimates that politics is an illegitimate way to make decisions about defense. Here the military itself seems naive. Decisions on competing programs *are* made on the basis of politics, whether those political struggles be inter-service or intra-bureaucratic within the Pentagon, or in the public domain.

Gen. Galvin, writing in *Army*, appears to acknowledge this at least in part: "Development of the ability to present the military viewpoint will be more critical in the years ahead .... To maintain support for adequate national and alliance security, leaders at all levels are going to have to become more articulate and more accessible to the press and the public than we frequently have been in the past."

But as battles are fought in the coming years over defense spending and program priorities—and over the very definition of "national security"—the military will have to do more than articulately express its views. It will have to recognize that its opposition is more than a bunch of crazies—it is a manifestation of a nation weary of nuclear weapons. It will have to join the political debate as an equal partner—and work *with* the peace movement and the public—rather than merely sharpen its sword for a tougher battle ahead. □

Julie A. Morrissey is a research associate with the Institute for Policy Studies' Arms Race and Nuclear Weapons Research Project. William M. Arkin is director of the institute's National Security Program.

LETTERS/Continued from page 4

important illustration.

Since Perkovich's article was published, national SANE/FREEZE leaders have assured members of our Sacramento chapter that no funds have been allocated to the commission. But the problem is one of principle, not money.

Perkovich notes that the SPC is uncritical of Soviet policy. This understates the case. SPC leaders are important apologists for Soviet policy, whether that policy favors a test ban or occupying Afghanistan.

The SPC also serves to exclude independent peace activists—such as those from the Moscow Trust Group—from participating in peace conferences in Moscow and outside the Soviet Union. Worse, it has collaborated with Soviet police forces in suppressing independent expressions of opinion, an important fact that Perkovich fails to mention.

Soviet diplomatic and domestic policy has changed dramatically under Gorbachev. Still it is wildly inappropriate for an independent U.S. peace organization to ally itself so uncritically with an organ of the Soviet government.

While it is not necessary to renounce its agreement with the SPC, it is surely incumbent upon SANE/FREEZE to uphold fundamental moral principles. At a minimum, SANE/FREEZE must: insist that the SPC halt and foreswear any future collaboration with Soviet police forces, demand that the SPC open its doors to independent peace activists, and strike a parallel agreement with independent Soviet activists for a standing, permanent commission on peace and human rights.

Until this is done, the arrangement with the SPC will mar the legitimacy of SANE/FREEZE and the larger movement of which it is part.

Dan Galpern
Davis, California

Editor's Note: Dan Galpern is the executive director of Sacramento SANE/FREEZE. His views do not necessarily reflect those of his organization.

Finally a mainstream peace publication takes note of the detente from below movement. The more moderate may shower *Nuclear Times* with congratulations, but in all honesty I can only say, "What took you so long?"

Unnoted in the article is the recently formed North American East/West Network, initiated by Neither East Nor West-NYC and consisting of groups with a more radical rank-and-file bent across the United

States and Canada.

The network refuses to work with Soviet bloc government fronts. We would no more collaborate with the Soviet Peace Committee than with a "Pentagon Peace Committee." Our commitment is to human rights and peace abroad *and* at home, where abuses and political repression are chronic. While we campaign in concert with Eastern activists against abuses in the Soviet bloc, we fight abuses here and have successfully encouraged Easterners to join with us.

Street-level repression goes unnoticed by professional and elite peace activists, who, while sleeping comfortably at night do not have to worry about repression, Soviet- or U.S.-style. The doctors and lawyers who make up much of the mainstream U.S. peace movement quite logically can only relate to their own kind in the East, i.e. officialdom—the jacket and tie crew. This U.S. peace movement is not located socially, racially or classwise in day-to-day struggles in the United States. They cannot be expected to be sympathetic to street struggles in the East.

William Sloane Coffin is being *absolutely dishonest* when he says peace groups have no alternative but to work with the SPC. He knows damn well of the existence of the dissident Soviet anti-war Trust Group, which, while embattled, is nearly *begging* for interaction with the Sloane Coffins of the world.

Bernard Lown of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War says that pushing human rights issues would have been distorted into a Cold War battle by the media. Leaving aside the hypocrisy and immorality of remaining silent on an issue because it might cause *you* some trouble, is Lown correct? When *doesn't* the right and the media distort peace issues and the peace movement because of the movement's refusal to deal with Soviet political violence and imperialism? History will record the criminal lack of attention [by the U.S. peace movement] to the Afghanistan war.

Finally, the article implies the SPC is funded independently of the state. No doubt some Soviet citizens will contribute freely. But the rest [of its funds] comes from what a Trust Group friend calls "a peculiar form of taxation." When the SPC asks factory workers to donate out of their paychecks, they either do so or end up on the shit list. Similarly, SPC "rallies" have been orchestrated by forcing factory workers and student to attend.

Last summer a number of prominent Trust Group members and other Soviet dissidents broke off relations with European Nuclear Disarmament because of END's support for the SPC.

Peace activists had better figure out whose side they're on.

Bob McGlynn
Neither East Nor West
Brooklyn, New York

Losing an Editor, Winning Awards

In mid-January, our senior editor, Robert Schaeffer, left *Nuclear Times* to become senior editor at *Greenpeace* magazine. Schaeffer, a strong editor and prolific writer, was a key addition to the *NT* staff when we moved our editorial offices to Washington two years ago. We will miss him and we wish him the best of luck at his new job.

On a more upbeat note, *Nuclear Times* won three design awards late last year. *Print's 1988 Regional Design Annual* awarded *NT* two certificates of design excellence for our November/December 1987 cover by Seymour Chwast and our January/February 1988 cover by Bryan Leister. Leister's cover also won a gold "Ozzie" award for best educational magazine cover from *Magazine Design & Production.*

I agree with several assertions about the Soviet Peace Committee in the article "Peace and Freedom." As a staff member of International Peace Walk, Inc. (IPW), which co-organized two joint walks with the SPC last summer, I worked daily with SPC officials. I would conclude, along with many Soviet citizens, that most of these officials are members of the entrenched bureaucracy Gorbachev is trying to dismantle. Aside from a few "good" people, the SPC as a whole can be characterized as authoritarian, lazy and greedy.

On the American walk in June and July, SPC officials insisted on having a huge motor home, as well as a number of cars, at their disposal—paid for by IPW. Walkers jokingly referred to the motor home as the "bourge-mobile." In it the SPC officials kept bottles of vodka and their girlfriends, who were brought along at SPC's expense. Most of the officials did nothing to help with the daily organizing of the walk, and they set a poor example by refusing to sleep in tents, drinking in camp, and demanding special food and larger portions.

Near the end of the Soviet walk in August and September, the Soviet Union conducted a nuclear test, which was jointly monitored by U.S. and Soviet scientists. Most walkers wanted to protest or at least acknowledge the test. The SPC called a closed meeting for Soviet walkers and threatened, "No Soviet will take part in any demonstration or there will be no walks next year." Despite the SPC's original objections, a protest with some restrictions did take place in Red Square.

Late last fall the SPC voted to withdraw its sponsorship of American-Soviet peace walks. It agreed to turn the project over to a cooperative, but, in effect, this ends the walks. No other Soviet organization has the money and political clout needed to undertake such a project. U.S. peace activists are left with little choice if they want to form a joint human rights commission or engage in citizen diplomacy with Soviets. We can only hope that *glasnost* transforms the SPC into a legitimate peace advocacy organization.

Karen Sherman
Washington, D.C.

I was surprised that George Perkovich, in an otherwise excellent article, failed to mention Amnesty International. AI is a non-political, international organization concerned with human rights worldwide. Its annual reports should be essential reading for all peace activists. While Turkey (a NATO member) tortures its citizens and imprisons them without trial, while the U.S.-trained Salvadoran military bomb peasant villages and support death squads, while the contras kill people like Ben Linder and some 60,000 Nicaraguan women and children in terrorist attacks funded by the U.S. Congress, we cannot speak sanctimoniously about human rights.

Besides, many peace activists don't seem to know the difference between human rights and civil rights. Dr. Bernard Lown of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War is correct when he says Americans should be more modest, and that yelping about human rights in the Soviet Union is sheer hypocrisy. So let's get on with arms control and putting an end to nuclear testing, SDI and plans to "win" a nuclear war, and leave human rights to organizations like Amnesty International.

Paul F. Milner, M.D.
Physicians for Social Responsibility
Augusta, Georgia

Your article "Peace and Freedom" presents the U.S. peace movement with a false alternative: work closely with the Soviet Peace Committee *or* support Soviet and East European dissidents. Both choices are flawed. They don't offset each other, but neither is necessary.

The problem, at least historically, with the SPC is its misleading appearance: a grassroots peace organization that, in reality, hews to official policy. Co-sponsorship with the SPC gives the impression we are

naive and makes it easy for the right to say we are tools, perhaps unwittingly, of Soviet propaganda.

This is not to deny the value of U.S. peace movement discussions with Soviet officials, scientists and others. They are an essential source of information on how the Soviets might respond to disarmament proposals. But such contacts plainly are what they are.

The problem with trying to help dissidents, on the other hand, lies in our own mixed motives. Are we trying to prove that we are "tough" and "realistic" about the Soviet government? If so, we will aim to publicize such contact in the U.S. press. And this may make our help double-edged for dissidents. While international pressure can advance human rights, it is more effective coming from Europeans, where the adversarial lines are less sharp. That way, granting a request cannot be portrayed by Soviet hard-liners as a concession to the West.

Of course, most East bloc dissidents are sincere and serious. But we can't overlook the role of the CIA and various U.S. channels in deliberately fomenting unrest. Some here would like Soviet reform to boil over, weakening the U.S.S.R. to Western advantage or forcing a crackdown that would be a propaganda victory. Even if our acts are scrupulously independent, they may contribute to this.

But the whole dilemma is unnecessary. We already have the most important job in the world: ending the U.S. role in the arms race and persuading the American people that we all have enlightened self and mutual interests in a new foreign and military policy. Injustice here at home and environmental crises cry out for our attention as individuals, and, arguably, as a peace movement. Our work for an American *perestroika* is our best contribution to the one in the Soviet Union.

David Keppel
Essex, Connecticut

George Perkovich responds: The signatories of the SANE/FREEZE letter wrongly attribute the views expressed in my article to me. For example, they write: "According to Perkovich, SANE/FREEZE was wrong to explore the establishment of a commission" and "Perkovich objects to dealing with the Soviet Peace Committee." In fact, the article was based on interviews and quotes from leaders of the U.S. peace and human rights movements. These interviews revealed many serious doubts about the proposed commission that were not dispelled by SANE/FREEZE's vague sense of what exactly the commission would do and how it would operate. Of course, as William Sloane Coffin et al. write, it is important to discuss "the essential link between democracy and peace" and to broaden "the definition and understanding of human rights." The question is how to do this.

Neither I nor those I interviewed suggested that "dialogue" with officially approved Soviet agencies should be avoided. The concern was that the proposed commission was a "permanent" joint venture, an arrangement of such formal and symbolic significance that it deserved much greater analysis and deliberation than it received.

The Cold War cannot be wished away or defeated by countercharges of "red-baiting." Nor, in my opinion, is an uncompromising attachment to dissidents going to eradicate East-West conflict. As the article points out, a range of carefully thought-out tactics is necessary, including effective cooperation with Soviet and East European citizens and officials.

Finally, I agree wholeheartedly with David Keppel. Our work for human rights and disarmament at home will profoundly influence what we can accomplish abroad.

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RESOURCES

Books

A Shift in Military Spending to the Cities: A Report for the U.S. Conference of Mayors *prepared by Employment Research Associates ($10, 49 pages, Employment Research Associates, 115 W. Allegan St., Suite 810, Lansing, MI 48933, 1988).* The U.S. Conference of Mayors commissioned this valuable report, which examines the impact of a shift in federal spending on the nation's cities. If the federal government decreased military spending by $30 billion, a relatively modest amount, and devoted this money to an increase in spending on city-administered programs, the report shows that this shift would increase the number of jobs, raise income levels and encourage investment in most cities. Trenton, New Jersey; Chicago, Illinois; Austin, Texas; and Irvine, California, are studied in detail. *—Robert Schaeffer*

Claiming the Heavens *by Philip M. Boffey, William J. Broad, Leslie H. Gelb, Charles Mohr, and Holcomb B. Noble ($17.95, 256 pages, Times Books, 1988).* The New York Times' "Star Wars team" provides a detailed account of events leading up to President Reagan's March 23, 1983 Star Wars speech and describes what happened after he delivered it. The book is based on a series of stories that won a Pulitzer Prize. The authors take a dim view of claims that the Star Wars program will render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." *—Elise Holland*

Breaking Ranks *by Melissa Everett ($12.95, 239 pages, New Society Publishers, 1989).* There are times when the world seems to turn upside down. When that happens, people see their life and work in a new perspective. Melissa Everett vividly tells the story of 10 men who, after devoting most of their adult lives to the defense industry, the CIA and nuclear weapons labs, left their jobs and changed their lives. After finding a new life working for peace and justice, these converts managed to right the world that had turned their lives upside down. *—R.S.*

Shopping for a Better World: A Quick & Easy Guide to Socially Responsible Supermarket Shopping *by Rosalyn Will et al ($4.95 or five copies for $15, 128 pages, Council on Economic Priorities, 30 Irving Pl., New York, NY 10003, 1988).* Based on the Council on Economic Priorities' 1987 book, *Rating America's Corporate Conscience*, this pocket-size guide rates 138 companies and 1,300 brand name products commonly found in supermarkets, health food stores and gasoline stations. The companies are evaluated on their records on advancing women and minorities, protecting the environment, investment in South Africa, charitable giving, community outreach, nuclear power, animal testing, military testing, military contracts and social disclosure. Don't leave home without it.

Videos

Mandate from Main Street: Americans Advise the Next President *($25, VHS or Beta, 60 minutes, color, Better World Society and Union of Concerned Scientists, 1988).* What do ordinary Americans think about the military and security issues facing the next president? In *Mandate from Main Street*, a cross section of Americans exchange views on the Soviet Union, arms control and the real meaning of security. The result is an entertaining and educational program that demonstrates how much American attitudes on these issues are changing.

The format shifts between group discussion and filmed interviews with experts such as Paul Kennedy, author of *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*; Max Kampelman, senior U.S. arms control negotiator; and Suzanne Massie, a Harvard sovietologist. After viewing these film clips, the group discusses what it has seen, aided by moderator Charles Nesson, a Harvard law professor who teases out the participants' opinions in a relaxed Socratic style.

The strength of this program is its participants, who without technical language or academic argument discuss their conceptions of security, arms control, verification, and their assessment of the Soviet Union in the Gorbachev era. Despite their disparate backgrounds, the members of the group agree that the next president should continue to pursue arms control agreements with the Soviet Union and should work hard to improve relations between the two superpowers.

Mandate from Main Street's simplicity of presentation and excellent production values make it ideal for classroom or community group use. It will also be a shot in the arm to any peace activist as it makes clear that the American public is seriously questioning the necessity of the arms race and the Cold War. *—J. Peter Nixon*

Rumors of an end to the arms race have been greatly exaggerated.

The new stance being taken by Washington reflects technological change – older weapons systems become obsolete as new, deadlier ones are developed – rather than any real desire for peace. In his new book, **Nuclear Empire**, Robert Aldridge shows that the Pentagon's strategy is still based on the doctrine of First Strike – the US military's ability to destroy the Soviet Union with nuclear weapons before the other side can mount a retaliatory strike. According to Aldridge, a former missile engineer for Lockheed, this is the most dangerous strategy of all.

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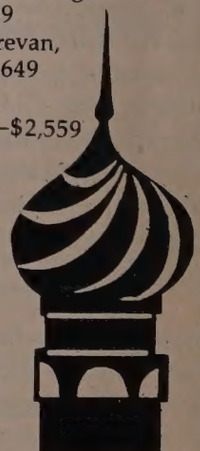

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CALENDAR

March

1 to 3, Phoenix, Arizona. Dr. Lawrence Korb, former assistant secretary of defense, will be speaking on arms control and defense budget issues on behalf of the Committee for National Security. *Contact:* CNS (202) 745-2450.

2 New York City. The Council on Economic Priorities will host its third annual *Corporate Conscience Awards Ceremony. Contact:* CEP (212) 420-1133.

3 Chicago. Chicago PSR will sponsor "New Visions of National Security." Dr. Joseph Rotblat, a Manhattan Project physicist who resigned from the project after Germany surrendered, and Dr. Theodore Taylor, a leading nuclear weapons designer who is now a disarmament activist, are the featured speakers. *Contact:* Chicago PSR (312) 563-1777.

4 to 7, Washington, D.C. To celebrate its 20th anniversary, the Union of Concerned Scientists will sponsor a three-day conference, "Meeting the Challenge: Arms Reduction in the New Administration." *Contact:* Lucy Edmondson (617) 547-5552.

8 North Hampton, Massachusetts. Western Massachusetts Physicians for Social Responsibility and Ironhorse Cafe will hold a benefit concert featuring Bruce Cockburn. For a tax-deductible donation to WMPSR you get a prime seat and a ticket to a backstage reception. *Contact:* WMPSR (413) 533-7550. For seats only: Ironhorse (413) 584-0610.

10 to 11, Palo Alto. Physicians for Social Responsibility will hold its annual national meeting and award banquet. This year's theme is "Redefining National Security." Dr. Benjamin Spock is the featured award-winner. *Contact:* Karen Harris (202) 785-3777.

30 to 4/1, Boston. Educators for Social Responsibility sponsors three full-day seminars on teaching practices and global challenges to educators. *Contact:* ESR (617) 492-8820.

31 to 4/2, New York City. The Borough of Manhattan Community College will host the seventh annual Socialist Scholars Conference with the theme "Two Centuries of Revolution: 1789-1989." *Contact:* SSC (212) 606-4226.

Last year American Peace Test, Greenpeace and other organizations "reclaimed the test site." They're doing it again April 7-16.

April

7 to 4/16, The Nevada Test Site. American Peace Test, in conjunction with the International Comprehensive Test Ban Campaign, plans its largest nonviolent action yet, "Reclaim the Test Site II." *Contact:* (702) 731-9644 or (202) 745-2450.

15 Nationwide. The National Jobs with Peace Campaign is organizing protests during the week of "Tax Day," calling for reduced arms spending and increased funding for affordable housing and other human needs. For more information on organizing in your area, *contact:* (617) 338-5783.

17 to 18, Minneapolis. The Honeywell Project will begin its 21st year of protests at Honeywell. After nonviolent CD training workshops, organizers plan to encircle Honeywell headquarters. *Contact:* (612) 339-3524.

22 Pittsfield, Massachusetts. The Northeast Economic Diversification Conference will be held at Berkshire Community College. John Kenneth Galbraith will speak. *Contact:* (413) 586-8892.

May

5 to 6, Kings Bay, Georgia. Pax Christi USA sponsors a national action at the Trident submarine base. The theme: "From Deterrence to Love." There will be civil disobedience training before the protests. *Contact:* (814) 453-4955.

14 Mother's Day, Nationwide. Grassroots organizations will celebrate *Mother's Day For Peace.* Participants in the celebration include WAND, SANE/FREEZE, Peacelinks, Neighbor-to-Neighbor, American Peace Test, Grandmothers for Peace, and many others.

Boston. In observance of the *Mother's Day for Peace* celebration, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament will host a sixth annual dinner dance for the WAND Education Fund, and present the Helen Caldicott Leadership Award. *Contact:* WAND (617) 643-6740.

20 to 28, Philadelphia. Walk from Philly to Washington on the annual Pilgrimage to Reverse the Arms Race. *Contact:* (617) 736-3590.

Ongoing

Boston. Educators for Social Responsibility continues its Professional Development Series, five one-day seminars on such topics as "Dealing with Difficult People" and "Teaching Tough Topics in Science." *Contact:* ESR (617) 492-8820.

Chicago, The Peace Museum. Voted one of three top exhibitions of the year by the American Art Critics Association, *Committed to Print* will be exhibited through May 31, 1989. The exhibit includes works from more than 100 artists. *Contact:* LeeAnn Schray (312) 440-1860.

Nationwide. The Center for Common Security sponsors a series of participatory workshops across the country on common security, democratic education and leadership skills. *Contact:* CCS (413) 458-2159.

Nationwide. The Center For Defense Information continues its weekly TV program, *America's Defense Monitor,* on various cable and PBS stations around the country. *Contact:* Sanford Gottlieb (202) 862-0700.

Nationwide. The National Weapons Facilities Network consists of more than 400 groups across the country organizing against nuclear and conventional weapons production, research and testing, storage sites, military bases, and naval ports. To join *contact:* National Mobilization for Survival (212) 385-2222.

Nationwide. New Voices Radio, a project of the Public Interest Video Network, broadcasts a weekly half-hour public affairs program to independent stations. Cassette recordings available. *Contact:* Patrick Esmonde-White (202) 797-8997.

Nationwide. The MIT-Harvard Public Disputes Program, in association with Search for Common Ground, has produced a 10-part series entitled "Search for Common Ground." The series is broadcast on most PBS stations every third Sunday. For more information on broadcast times and dates, *contact:* SCG (202) 265-4300.

Los Angeles. "Peaceworks," a weekly television series that appears on public access cable systems, explores ways to resolve conflict without violence. *Contact:* Christopher Toussaint (213) 666-9140.

Seattle, Washington. The Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility, the Pacific Arts Center and the Earthstewards Network continue to sponsor an exhibition of children's photography from the Soviet Union and the United States. These photographs will hang at the PAC gallery and then at several galleries in the Soviet Union. *Contact:* WPSR (206) 547-2630.

Information Hotlines: Common Cause legislative hotline (202) 833-1319; Central American legislation (202) 543-0664; nuclear arms control (202) 543-0006; nuclear tests (702) 731-9646; peace and justice issues (202) 547-4343; Senate/House switchboard (202) 224-3121; South Africa (202) 546-0408; American Peace Test (702) 731-9641.

Compiled by Archer Maness

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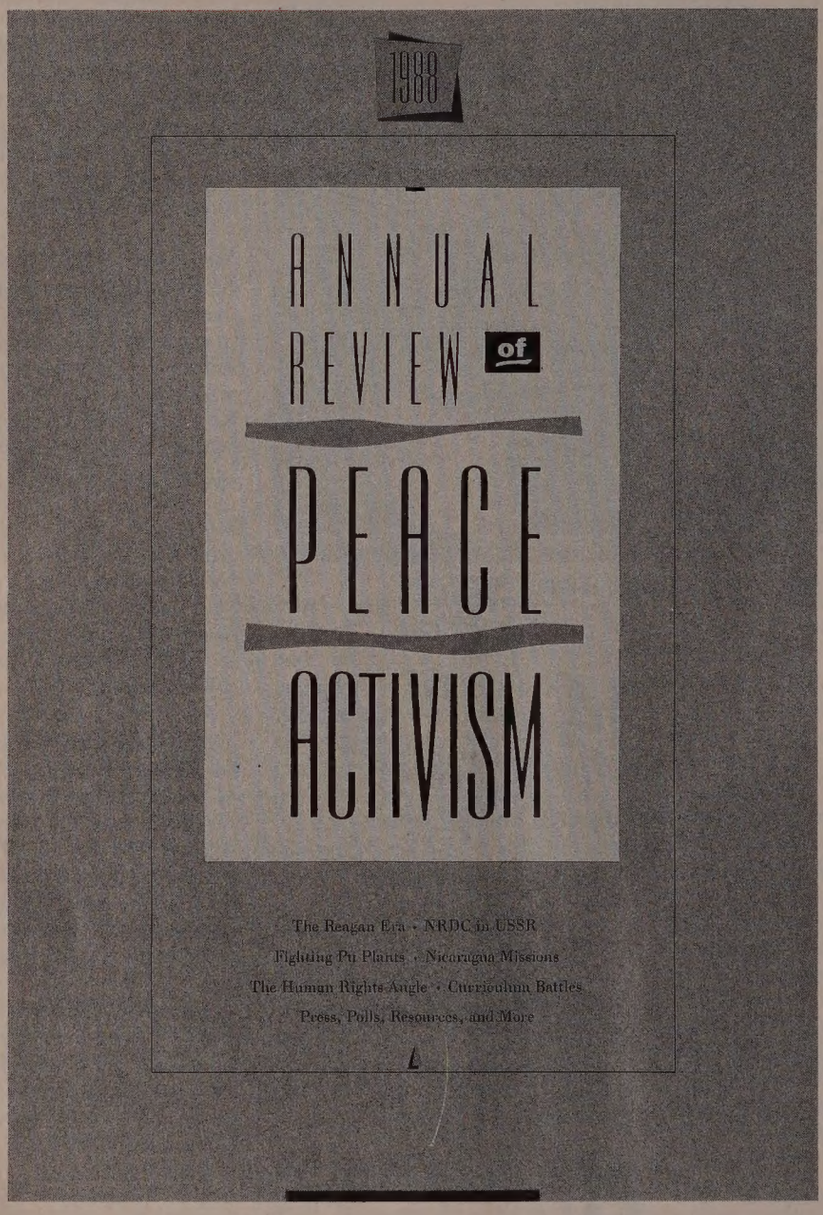

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